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ABSTRACT

This study investigates whether there were significant changes in the employment patterns of minorities and women in the 1970s, whether any such changes resulted from affirmative action, and whether affirmative action brought about fundamental changes in discriminatory personnel practices and systems. (Affirmative action here refers to that prescribed by Presidential executive order, defined by Federal rules and regulations, and enforced by administrative action.) Major findings are as follows. First, at the end of the decade both minorities and women had greater employment in higher-paid jobs than at the beginning. This was true in all sectors examined--private employment, government employment, to some extent in higher education, and in apprenticeships and union membership in the construction industry. Second, much of the change in employment is attributable to affirmative action. The fact that between 1974 and 1980 minorities and women made significantly greater gains in establishments of Federal government contractors in contrast to Federal government non-contractors illustrates this point. And third, there have been substantial systemic changes in industrial personnel practices. These have mostly been brought about by personnel management changes, including special training of supervisors, crediting Equal Employment Opportunity activities of supervisors, and developing professional staffs to monitor and oversee in-house equal opportunity programs. The relationship of education to equal employment opportunity is examined. Graphs, charts, and references are included in each section. (CMG)

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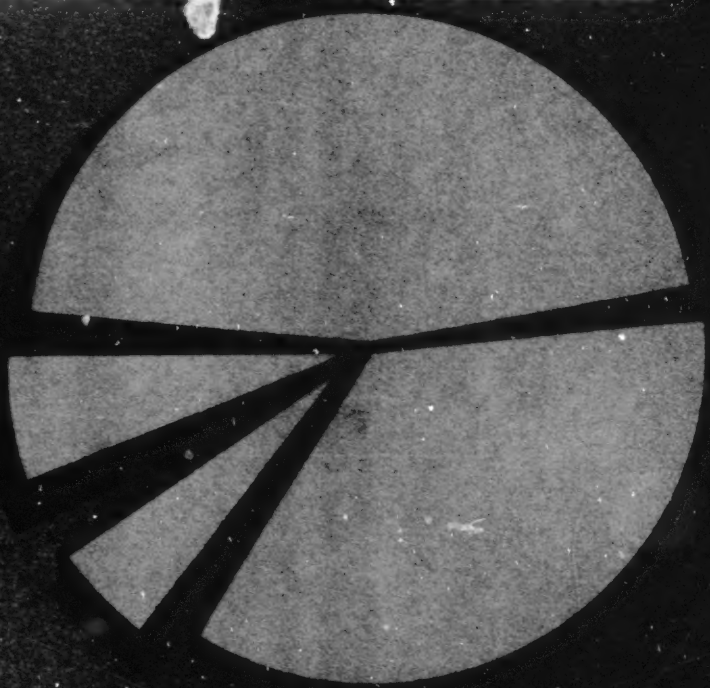

A Decade of New Opportunity

Affirmative Action in the 1970s

The Potomac Institute, Inc.

October 1984

This publication was written for The Potomac Institute by Herbert Hammerman, with the research assistance of Benigna Marciukaitis and the editorial collaboration of Arthur J. Levin. The Potomac Institute is an independent, nonprofit organization concerned with equality of opportunity in American life. Mr. Hammerman, now retired and a private consultant, was formerly with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and responsible for the development of some of the surveys he has analyzed. Mr. Levin, now retired, was formerly Executive Vice President of The Potomac Institute. They are indebted to a number of persons for helpful advice and information, but the specific contents and views expressed in this publication are solely their responsibility.

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FOREWORD

On March 6, 1961, President John F. Kennedy signed Executive Order 10925, requiring for the first time that employers holding federal contracts, as well as the federal government itself, take "affirmative action" to provide equal opportunity for minority workers. In 1973, the Potomac Institute published a study of the results to date of that policy. Its title—*Affirmative Action: The Unrealized Goal*—aptly characterized its findings:

> The foregoing analysis makes it disquietingly clear that more than a decade of affirmative action policy has yielded woefully inadequate results. Blacks and other minorities are still drastically underemployed in every category except the most poorly paid and undesirable jobs, and at the highest paid and most prestigious levels they are rare indeed. It follows from this, that if equity is ever to be achieved, affirmative action efforts must be pursued with greatly increased vigor, commitment, and competence.

Shortly before this discouraging assessment was published, federal regulations were issued finally giving "affirmative action" a clear and concrete definition and setting forth specifically what was required of federal contractors. Now, another decade later, this report assesses the gains that have been made under the policy as it finally evolved. In the interim, a large body of data has become available, much of it on an annual basis and including comparisons by sex over a longer period than was possible ten years ago. This statistical information makes it possible to examine with greater precision changes in the employment status of minorities and women.

The results of this examination show clearly that women and minorities have made substantial progress in the workforce during recent years. The gains have been uneven, and in most areas parity is still remote. But the trend is unmistakably in the direction of equal opportunity, particularly in the higher positions that were for so long closed to the traditional victims of discrimination.

These findings coincide with those of a recent study carried out by the U.S. Labor Department's Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs covering the years 1974 to 1980. The results of the study were released to the public in July 1984. OFCCP found significant movement of minorities and women into higher paid jobs. Moreover, it established a strong correlation between contractor performance and implementation of affirmative action. Among the employers surveyed, those holding federal contracts--and thus subject to affirmative action requirements—showed substantially greater gains than noncontractors. When contractors were compared only with each other, those that had been reviewed by a federal agency showed greater progress than those not reviewed. These findings strongly support the presumption that the gains of the last decade are heavily attributable to affirmative action.

Ironically, this positive evidence comes at a time when the critics of affirmative action—including the President, the Attorney General, and other high government officials—are waging a campaign to strip the program of basic elements. Their opposition centers on the use of numerical goals that employers are required to develop and against which their subsequent performance is measured. This, argue the critics, constitutes a quota system which forces employers to hire minority members and women even if doing so means discriminating against better qualified white males. They advocate a return to the methods of the 1950s, which provided relief only for an individual who could establish that he or she had suffered intentional discrimination. Under that system, the only permissible way to measure an employer's equal opportunity record was on a case by case basis—normally triggered by individual complaints—and the only acceptable evidence of noncompliance was the metaphoric "smoking gun."

The simplistic and emotionally charged terms hurled about in the debate over affirmative action have generated much public confusion and misunderstanding. As background for the report that follows, it is fitting to attempt a brief clarification of the elements of affirmative action that are in dispute.

Administrative and Judicial Affirmative Action

There are two types of "affirmative action" that differ basically in their legal mandates and afford-

able remedies. The first is an administrative function applying only to federal contractors and the federal government itself, prescribed by Presidential executive order and departmental regulations. The second, mandated by Congress in Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, gives the federal courts broad authority to order such forms of "affirmative action" as they judge appropriate. The opponents of affirmative action seldom acknowledge the distinction between these different types of enforcement, the first of which flatly forbids the imposition of quotas, and the second of which by law permits the courts to order quotas under certain conditions. Attacks on affirmative action usually represent these separate approaches as a single system, under which quotas are imposed by a willful bureaucracy acting on its own authority.

Affirmative action as prescribed by executive order is governed by regulations, commonly referred to as Revised Order Number 4, issued in their present form by the U.S. Department of Labor under the Nixon Administration in 1971. The Order requires contractors to make an analysis of their personnel to determine the representation of women and minorities by various job categories and levels of pay. If it is found that members of these groups are significantly under-represented in proportion to their presence in the job market from which the contractor draws, the contractor must then develop a set of reasonable goals and timetables designed to remedy the deficiency. Such goals are *not* quotas that must be filled regardless of qualification or other mitigating factors. The contractor is obligated only to make every "good faith" effort to achieve the objectives that the contractor itself has determined to be reasonable. Should it turn out that there are valid reasons why the projected number of positions cannot be filled by qualified applicants, then the contractor is subject to no penalty. In the words of Order Number 4 itself, "Goals may not be rigid and inflexible quotas which must be met, but must be targets reasonably attainable by means of applying every good faith effort."

The other form of affirmative action, which has been held to permit the imposition of quotas under special circumstances, was prescribed by Congress in 1964. It empowers the federal courts to "order such affirmative action as may be appropriate, which may include, but is not limited to, reinstatement or hiring of employees, with or without back pay . . . or any other equitable relief as the court deems appropriate." When the courts have found a history of flagrant and persistent discrimination, they have on occasion ordered that a quota system be put into effect for a given period of time or until a specified degree of parity in employment has been reached.

Federal courts have repeatedly held that this judicial remedy is in keeping both with the Constitution and with the statutory mandate enacted by Congress. In recent years several difficult cases, involving conflicts between the principle of seniority and affirmative action, have stirred considerable controversy. Several of these cases have raised the question whether a public agency can undo the effects of a past court order by laying off minority employees who have less tenure than white employees. This issue has not yet been directly ruled on by the Supreme Court. However, it was brought into question in a statement contained in Justice White's majority opinion in *Firefighters* v. *Stotts* in June 1984, although the case was decided on another issue. (See Chapter I for a discussion of the ruling in this case.) But, whatever the final outcome may be, it is a gross oversimplification to cite a handful of judicial contests over competing equitable claims as evidence that affirmative action is an exercise in "reverse discrimination." Whatever quarrel critics have with court-ordered quotas does not apply to administrative affirmative action, but to actions taken by Congress and the federal judiciary.

Goals and Timetables

The use of employment statistics to measure performance and to set goals was not invented by liberals or bureaucrats. It was borrowed from the practical world of business management—and with a substantial degree of acceptance by the corporations affected. As the sixties drew to a close, it was apparent that the federal effort to advance equal employment opportunity among its major contractors was ineffective. The processing of individual complaints was a tedious affair, resulting in huge administrative backlogs, resolutions so delayed as to be meaningless for the complainants, and often costly and protracted litigation. Worst of all, as the Potomac Institute's first report revealed, this expensive and dilatory activity yielded negligible results.

If minority workers were badly served by this ill-defined program, so were the contractors themselves. In the absence of clear-cut standards, the nature and degree of their accountability were subject to arbitrary and unpredictable judgments, further aggravated by the conflicting requirements imposed by different government agencies. After extensive study

and consultation, draft regulations were circulated for review and reaction by civil rights and minority groups and by the corporate employers that would be subject to their provisions. The result was Order Number 4, which contained the essential elements of affirmative action in effect today. A recent survey of major federal contractors, conducted by John G. Feild for the Center for National Policy Review, found widespread commitment to affirmative action policies. As Mr. Feild has observed, "Most corporate executives see affirmative action as an essential management tool which reinforces accountability and maximizes the utilization of the talents of their entire work force. None see the 'goals and timetables' element in their affirmative action plans as requiring the use of quotas. Without exception those interviewed were opposed to quotas on the basis of sex or race."

Reverse Discrimination

It would be foolish to argue that affirmative action programs have been immune to abuse. Particularly in the early stages of affirmative action requirements, some managers found it easier to hire unqualified applicants than to improve their recruiting procedures or to explain to their superiors why a projected goal had not been met. But no corporation with a serious concern for productivity could tolerate such indifferent personnel practices for long, and indications are that this kind of management abuse is becoming a rarity. Excessive zeal on the part of government compliance officers is also subject to stern restrictions. Federal personnel who exceed their mandate in this area are unlikely to get the support of their superiors. As evidenced by a number of agency and court determinations in recent years, white males are entitled to the same legal and administrative relief from discrimination as are minorities and women. Victims of reverse discrimination have at least as ready access to remedy as those who have suffered historically from unequal treatment.

Intent and Effects

Those who oppose statistical measures usually argue that employers should not be called to account for discrimination unless it can be proved that they meant to discriminate. This position presents several problems. One is that it puts the burden of proof on those least able to bear it—that is, the victims of unequal treatment. Another, as every lawyer knows, is that intent is difficult, often impossible, to prove, unless the discriminator openly declares his or her discriminatory motive—as few are likely to do these days. A third problem relates to the objective that the government program seeks to achieve. In the case of contractor and government employment, the primary objective is not to establish guilt and punish the malefactor; it is to advance the national policy of equal opportunity. From this point of view, it matters little whether continuing denial of opportunity occurs because of evil motives, unthinking habit, or plain indifference. It is the system that produces such inequitable results that needs examination and correction.

The U.S. Supreme Court gave legal force to this principle in 1971 when it handed down the landmark decision in *Griggs* v. *Duke Power Co.* The Court held that job requirements which disproportionately exclude blacks and are unrelated to the task to be performed are, in fact, discriminatory. Such requirements can be justified only if they are dictated by "business necessity." The Court went on to state: ". . . good intent or absence of discriminatory intent does not redeem employment procedures or testing mechanisms that operate as 'built-in headwinds' for minority groups and are unrelated to measuring job capability." The *Griggs* ruling established the precedent for subsequent court and administrative decisions and—until recently, at any rate—was generally considered a settled issue.

The purpose of this brief analysis is to provide some clarity of definition as background for the progress report that follows. It does not purport to be a comprehensive treatment of the broad range of public and private actions to which the term "affirmative action" has been loosely applied. In this non-restrictive sense, the term is often used to characterize any sort of policy or program that is supposed to benefit minorities and women, whether subject to federal enforcement or not. An examination of the merits of such a large universe of attitudes and actions would require a volume of its own. Here, we are speaking only of affirmative action as prescribed by Presidential executive order, defined by federal rules and regulations, and enforced by administrative action.

The succeeding sections of this report document two assumptions about affirmative action so defined. The first is that it has moved our society measurably closer to the democratic goal of equal opportunity. The second is that the gap remaining is too wide to

justify relaxing our efforts and abandoning methods of proved effectiveness. If there are flaws in the execution of these methods, then by all means we should correct them. But let us not use them as a pretext for returning to the complacent and unfruitful policies of the past.

Harold C. Fleming

Washington, D.C.
October 1984

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

In undertaking this study, we addressed the following questions:

—Do the data reveal significant change in the patterns of minority and female employment in the 1970s?

—If so, to what extent were such changes the result of affirmative action?

—Has affirmative action brought about fundamental changes in personnel practices and systems which traditionally had discriminated against minorities and women?

The answers briefly are that there *was* significant change, much of it was due to affirmative action, and appropriate changes in personnel practices appear to have been made, at least among the larger employers in the nation.

We have found that at the end of the decade both minorities and women had greater employment in higher-paid jobs, where they had traditionally been under-represented, than at the beginning. This was true in all sectors that we examined—private employment, government employment in both the federal and the state and local spheres, to some extent in institutions of higher education (where data were not available for the early part of the decade), and in apprenticeships and union membership in the construction industry. We conclude also that the gains shown by the data were much greater than in previous decades, and for the first time represent a good start in the direction of equal employment opportunity, though not its final achievement. The achievements of equal employment opportunity have not yet neared the levels that would justify the dismantling of the governmental machinery that made them possible.

There can be no doubt that much of the change in employment patterns is attributable to affirmative action. As the 1960s drew to a close, employers found themselves increasingly in peril of heavy financial liabilities resulting from potential lawsuits brought under Title VII. Standardization of equal employment opportunity procedures became a necessary means of making required changes and providing good faith defenses. The fact that Revised Order No. 4, which set forth affirmative action procedures for government contractors, was issued in late 1971 during the Nixon administration would itself indicate that it was not strongly opposed by industry. The administration's action was assisted by an intensive educational program carried out by the National Association of Manufacturers. There is strong statistical evidence of the effectiveness of the affirmative action programs. The most striking is a recent study by the Office of Federal Contract Compliance (OFCCP) which revealed that between 1974 and 1980 minorities and women made significantly greater gains in establishments of federal government contractors than noncontractors.

It is also clear that industry has made substantial systemic changes in personnel practices to eliminate those which had stood in the way of effective equal employment opportunity. In some instances, companies like the American Telephone and Telegraph Company required judicially enforced consent decrees to make long overdue changes which, it would appear, they considered necessary at the time and for which they take credit today. In most instances, however, companies have been able to alter practices by making personnel management changes, including special training of supervisors, crediting EEO activities of supervisors, and developing professional staffs to monitor and oversee in-house equal opportunity programs. It is noteworthy that there has been relatively little opposition by industry to the affirmative action requirements of Executive Order 11246, which sets forth the EEO duties of federal contractors. In fact, those who would strip affirmative action of its numerical procedures clearly do not speak on behalf of most of big industry which sees it as "an essential management tool."

The Economic Setting

As an economic setting, the 1970s were an inauspicious time to inaugurate affirmative action. They witnessed a sharp contraction in the almost uninterrupted rate of economic growth of the preceding quarter of a century. Unemployment rates went up and after each rise stayed higher than they had been before. Poverty rates which had greatly declined in the 1960s stopped going down and were on the rise by 1981.

The combination of economic stagnation and inflation, labelled "stagflation," kept real income from rising while monetary income moved up with prices. It was mainly the entrance of women into the labor force in unprecedented numbers, their labor force participation having increased from 42.0 percent in 1970 to 51.4 percent in 1980, that kept real family incomes from falling.

The economic climate was particularly harsh for blacks. The historical black-to-white unemployment ratio of 2 to 1 had declined to 1.8 to 1 by 1970; but, ten years later, it was up to 2.3 to 1. For black youth, unemployment rates were at catastrophic levels, above 40 percent by 1980, and were to go still higher. While there was virtually no change in the real income of white families between 1970 and 1980, the real income of black families declined almost 5 percent, reversing the earlier trend toward reducing the racial gap.

Some critics of affirmative action allude to these economic trends as evidence of the failure of affirmative action, where in fact the aggregate numbers tend to mask its success. Frequently the criticisms miss the point. Disaggregated, the data show that the percentage of black families *in the higher income brackets* actually increased in the course of the decade, as was also the case of white and Hispanic families. However, the proportion of black families in the low income brackets increased as well, again also true of white and Hispanic families. There were more families which were better off and more which were worse off in all groups. Also, there was an increase of families with female householders and no husband present among all groups. For blacks, this trend was particularly severe. In 1981 such female-householder families accounted for two-thirds of all black persons in poverty.

Affirmative action is a program developed to remedy discrimination in employment, not poverty, nor inadequate education. To the extent that it has been successful, therefore, its achievements have been made in the face of the countervailing effects of poverty, stagflation, and an increasing number of female householder families. It is thus fair to assume that the success of affirmative action would have been greater had those factors not been present.

The growth of female-householder families, has had a doubly negative effect on incomes, both as a result of the absence of another income, the husband's, and the low levels of female pay. The income of women working full-time and year-round was about three-fifths that of men in 1980, a ratio that had remained unchanged for two decades, but which did rise two to three percentage points in 1982. On the average, the incomes of women, whether white, black, or Hispanic, are lower than those of men, regardless of race or ethnicity. The factors of age and education have increased the incomes of men to a much greater extent than of women. Higher education has brought black males closer to the incomes of white males. While it has tended to bridge the racial gap among females, it has done little to bridge the male-female gap.

Private Industry Employment

Annual statistics published by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), based upon that agency's EEO-1 surveys of private employers, reveal that minority groups and women made substantial employment gains between 1970 and 1980. The major increases were in the higher paid white-collar jobs (officials and managers, professionals, technicians, and sales workers), and, for male minorities, in the skilled crafts.

Black males improved their participation in all white-collar jobs, including clerical, and most substantially in the skilled crafts. The representation of black females increased in all but one of the nine job categories, that of service workers. Hispanics of both sexes improved their total labor force participation and their percentage of each job category.

While the representation of white women was virtually unchanged in the two job categories which traditionally have been their main source of employment, office and clerical workers and semiskilled operatives, it increased in all other jobs, exceptionally so in the white-collar jobs other than clerical. The statistics indicate that, when women entered the work force in increasing numbers in the 1970s, they did so substantially in the higher white-collar categories of jobs.

Comparisons of government contractors with non-contractors show that greater gains were made by contractors in the 1970s. In an analysis comparing data for two industry groups in which contractors predominate, i.e. manufacturing and a combination of transportation, communication, and public utilities, with an aggregate of all other surveyed industries, the Potomac Institute found a greater increase in minority and female representation in the contractor industries.

An OFCCP comparison of 77,000 establishments for 1974 and 1980, with an aggregate 1980 employment of 20.4 million, reveals substantially greater improvements in the representation of both minorities and women in establishments of government

contractors compared with those of noncontractors. For minorities, there were greater increases in all but one job category, and most substantially in white-collar and skilled craft jobs. For women, contractor increases were greater in all job categories.

A further analysis was made of contractor establishments, separating those that had experienced compliance reviews by federal government agencies and those that had not been reviewed. In reviewed establishments, increases of minority representation were somewhat greater than in the unreviewed establishments in eight of the nine job categories. Increases in female representation were substantially greater in the four nonclerical white-collar jobs and in service jobs. Moreover, minority and female increases were substantially greater in both of the contractor groups than in the noncontractor group. Similar conclusions were reached by an independent scholar utilizing the tools of regression analysis on a similar data base.

Apprenticeship and Union Membership in Construction

The figures on minority apprentices show considerable increases from 1970 to 1979, the last year surveyed. More importantly, graduates from apprenticeship increased from little more than a trickle of minorities in 1970 to substantial proportions by 1979. Significantly, black representation among apprenticeship graduates in 1979 at 9.4 percent was as high as among apprentices, 9.6 percent, indicating a high degree of completion of the programs. These figures reflect substantial additions of minorities, particularly blacks against whom discrimination had been most blatant, to the permanent construction labor force. A study of minorities in construction in New York City revealed that, in the face of a sharp decline in total apprenticeship during the city's severe construction recession in the latter 1970s, the proportion of minorities increased steadily. Statistics on women in apprenticeship show a doubling in the number of female apprentices, increasing their proportions from 2.1 percent to 3.7 percent in one year (1978 to 1979).

Data on membership in referral unions in the building trades reveal that as late as 1970, blacks were virtually excluded from the mechanical trades, with only 1.8 percent of the membership. Hispanics, despite their lower general labor force participation, were better represented with 3.2 percent of the total. In the other skilled trades, excluding the less skilled laborers, the figures were somewhat higher, 4.8 percent for each. Reflecting the training programs and other affirmative action activities over the intervening nine-year period, the 1979 statistics show a marked increase to 4.3 percent for blacks and 4.2 percent for Hispanics in the mechanical trades. Black membership also increased, but less substantially in the other skilled trades. The data reveal clear but limited progress from a very low base of black participation, but the construction unions still had far to go to match black employment in skilled jobs in other industries.

Government Employment—Federal

The federal government administers three broad compensation systems: the general schedule, mainly white collar and covering 60 percent of all federal employees; the wage systems, predominantly blue-collar jobs; and the postal service. Minority group employment was highest in the wage systems and lowest in the General Schedule, but had its largest increase during the 1970s in the general schedule. There were greater proportions of minority groups, particularly blacks in the federal government than in private industry. Within all but the lowest of the 15 pay grades of the general schedule, minority groups and women had substantial increases in representation in the 1970s. Female participation rose 30 percent in the ten highest grades. Blacks more than doubled their 1970 representation in the six highest grades. Hispanics, sparse in 1970, had considerable percentage increases in all grades. Proportions of minorities and women remained thin in the highest grades. However, at the executive level, they rose rapidly in one year, 1979 to 1980, undoubtedly reflecting the strong emphasis on affirmative action in the late years of the decade.

Government Employment—State and Local

Great expansion of federal loan and grant programs to state and local governments during the 1970s and creation of federal agency staffs to administer EEO requirements brought increasing pressure to bear on such governments to comply with EEO requirements. Another factor has been the coverage of state and local governments by Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 after it was amended in 1972.

Statistics obtained by the EEOC on state and local governments show increased participation rates of all minority groups and women in virtually all of the eight job categories in the survey. For minorities, the figures in 1980 were slightly lower than in the federal government but considerably higher than in private

industry. Female employment was greater than in the federal government and about the same as in industry. However, in white-collar jobs, state and local governments had a much greater female employment than both the federal government and industry.

The largest gains in the surveyed period were made by white females, particularly in the higher white-collar jobs. This reflected new work force participation since, as in other industries, their representation in clerical jobs remained unchanged. Minority women made gains in all white-collar jobs. Minority men gained most in protective service, mainly police and fire protection, and skilled craft jobs, and moderately in the higher white-collar categories.

Employment in Higher Education

While women have almost one-half the total employment in institutions of higher education, they have little more than one-fourth of the faculty positions. Blacks and Hispanics are likewise much more poorly represented on faculties than in other positions. Surveys for 1975 and 1979 show decreases in the percentages of white and black males on faculties, and increases of Hispanic and Asian males and white and Asian females.

Considerably greater proportions of white male than minority male faculty members had tenure. Both white and minority males had greater tenure than either white or minority females. A similar pattern is found in the proportions of tenured faculty with full professorships: a smaller percentage of minority than white males and considerably smaller percentages of females, regardless of race and ethnicity.

Salary statistics also show white males with somewhat higher salaries than black and Hispanic males and much higher salaries than white, black, and Hispanic females. Sex differentials in salaries appear at all ranks and are greatest at the full professor level. However, most of the aggregate faculty differential is accounted for by the greater proportions of women in the lower paid faculty ranks.

Education as Employment Qualification

There has been a great growth in secondary and higher education of both whites and blacks since World War II. In 1940, about two-fifths of all white persons age 25-29 and only one-eighth of all black persons in that age group had graduated high school. By 1979, the figures were about 87 percent of whites and 75 percent of blacks. While there was a small differential in favor of females of both races before the war, that seems to have been eliminated in the postwar era.

College enrollment increased spectacularly after the war, mainly in public institutions and in two-year community colleges. A major factor has been the enrollment of women, which increased from 41 percent to 51 percent of total enrollment in the 1970s. Enrollment of blacks increased considerably until the last half of the decade, when it started to decline, particularly in the case of male blacks. The main gains in the latter 1970s were made by white females at all levels of education. Proportionately, there were as many of them in graduate schools as in undergraduate schools. In contrast, there was a sharp decline in minority groups of both sexes after undergraduate school.

Figures on earned degrees show a much lower ratio of both women and blacks at the doctorate level. However, the percent of female doctorates almost doubled between 1971 and 1980. Information on degrees by field of study reveals emphasis by blacks and Hispanics on education, public affairs, psychology, social sciences, and, for Hispanics, language, in contrast to a greater emphasis by whites on business, engineering, physical sciences, and mathematics. While women continued high levels of specialization in traditional fields, such as education, library science, home economics, language, arts, and letters, the statistics show impressive increases in other fields, like business, physical sciences, engineering, and architecture.

In law, medical, and dental schools, total female enrollment rose sharply between 1971 and 1981: from 9 percent to 35 percent of law students; from 11 percent to 28 percent of medical students; and from 2 percent to 19 percent of dental students. Blacks and Hispanics also increased their representation, but to a smaller extent. From the midpoint of the ten-year period, from 1976 to 1981, there was a small decline in the percentage of blacks in each of the three types of professional schools.

Apparently, changing aspirations and self-image of women, notably white women, changing attitudes of admissions officers, and financial ability to bear increasing costs of higher and professional education account for the rapid gains made by women. On the other hand, the absence of financial ability seems to have hampered racial and ethnic minorities, particularly as economic recession increased in severity. Other suggested factors have been poor preparation of these minorities at the secondary school level in

growing fields such as math and sciences, and difficulties in recruiting for higher education among poorly educated inner-city youth.

A conclusion that emerges from this study is that only those who are properly prepared by reason of education or training will benefit from the opportunities opened to women and minorities by affirmative action. Products of inferior education, school dropouts, the unskilled, recipients of diplomas that signify longevity or "life experiences" rather than academic achievement, and all the other unfortunates who are being shortchanged by society, among whose numbers minorities are so heavily concentrated, will never be able to measure up in their present circumstances to the work standards required to obtain and perform jobs competitively. Some proponents of "equality," fortunately in the minority, have suggested setting group quotas for employment of racial and ethnic minorities and women, regardless of qualification. No more certain way of destroying the concept of equal opportunity, and eventually American society, particularly in this emerging "hi-tech" era, can be envisioned. The solution is to enable every individual to compete on a truly equal basis by repairing and enhancing public education for all, meanwhile providing continuing remedial education for all those requiring it, providing training or retraining for skills of current currency, and continuing to work to eliminate every vestige of discrimination in all its manifold and ugly manifestations from American society.

CHAPTER I

HISTORY AND ISSUES

Origin of Affirmative Action

The term "affirmative action" was first used officially in President Kennedy's Executive Order 10925, issued March 6, 1961. It was part of a provision that was required to be included in all federal government contracts, as follows:

> "(1) The contractor will not discriminate against any employee or applicant for employment because of race, creed, color, or national origin. The contractor will take *affirmative action* to ensure that applicants are employed, and that employees are treated during employment, without regard to their race, creed, color, or national origin. Such action shall include, but not be limited to, the following: employment, upgrading, demotion or transfer; recruitment or recruitment advertising; layoff or termination; rates of pay or other forms of compensation; and selection for training, including apprenticeship." (emphasis added)

The executive order did not define affirmative action, nor did the ensuing regulations. However, the term clearly was intended to mean more than passive equal employment opportunity (EEO) which prevailed before the 1960s. As pointed out in an earlier Potomac Institute publication on this subject:

> "By the end of the 'fifties it was becoming apparent that discrimination was more deeply rooted in the social fabric than had first been thought, and it became clearer to both committees that their policies were faced with complex ramifications. Employers were perpetuating discriminatory hiring patterns, often quite unconsciously through, for example, unexamined assumptions as to what jobs were suitable for blacks. Selection and promotion procedures were oriented to those with white backgrounds. The dearth of suitable, qualified black applicants for some jobs was increasingly recognized as reflecting both lack of adequate training facilities and the self-concept of blacks themselves, long conditioned to accepting discrimination uncomplainingly and to underestimating their own potentialities. At the same time, employers, even those with the best intentions, were not publicizing their openings where blacks and other minorities were likely to hear about them. Thus, by 1960, the view was developing that *passive nondiscrimination was not enough*. Discrimination, it was recognized, could exist and flourish in the simple absence of positive or affirmative action."[1]

The aim of E.O. 10925 was to institute a much more active program than had been pursued in the past. It established the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity (PCEEO), chaired by the Vice President and with representation from the major contracting agencies of the federal government.[2] The PCEEO was authorized to issue rules, regulations, and orders, and the contracting agencies of the government were made primarily responsible for obtaining compliance with them. Regulations directed these agencies to appoint compliance officers and provided for the establishment of compliance staffs for the conduct of routine and special compliance reviews. Further, the PCEEO required contractors to file "Compliance Reports" (Standard Form 40) with the contracting agencies, the first statistical report forms to be used in the government's equal employment opportunity programs.[3] Another important innovation was the provision of penalties, including termination of contracts and debarment from future contracts, for noncompliance.

Under E.O. 10925, affirmative action specified an active program to hire, promote, and train minority group persons. The major emphasis was placed on hiring and training. Employers were expected to undertake active recruitment measures which included outreach to minority media and schools with information about job availability. There was also emphasis on training supervisors and managers to sensitize them to equal employment opportunity practices. To discharge these obligations, employers were expected to show "good faith" activity and, for the most part, such activity was considered sufficient. Requirements of results, of changes in what came to be considered institutional discrimination, were to come later.

An important innovaton under E.O. 10925 was the staffing of contract compliance offices in the various agencies with persons who had had experience in the field of civil rights.[4] This helped direct the emphasis of the agency programs more toward anti-discrimination policy.

Voluntary Action

Despite the development of a more active and professionalized program, and the granting of powers to impose penalties, an emphasis on voluntary action also continued to be a major part of the program. This was due to two related conceptions. One was the idea that voluntary programs could be made effective if

industry was given the information and tools and mobilized to that end. The second was the absence of really effective means of compelling compliance. The availability of penalties was considered to be more an inducement to contractors toward voluntary action than a realistic source of government power. To this day, the government has not found it practicable to deny contracts to major defense suppliers or other major contractors.

The government's tools to achieve voluntary activity were twofold. One was a heavy reliance on technical assistance. Technical assistance offices and staffs were established to offer services to employers, to help them in recruitment activities, to set up appropriate staffing structures, and to help them overcome institutional blocks in the way of equal employment opportunity. The second tool was the creation of an organization to enlist big business in the cause. The "Plans for Progress" (PfP) program was established in 1961, through which the PCEEO obtained pledges of cooperation from member firms, and the execution of formal joint statements promising specified undertakings by both the companies and PCEEO.[5] The companies pledged to undertake certain activities with regard to recruitment, placement and promotion, training, internal dissemination of anti-discrimination policy, and other matters such as the elimination of segregated facilities and work areas. The PCEEO undertook to assist the companies in recruitment, training, labor union liaison, and other services. A major activity of PfP was statistical reporting. Member firms reported on a form EEO-10, similar to but somewhat simpler than Standard Form 40, which they did not have to file.

Plans for Progress continued in existence until the late 1960s, largely as an autonomous, semi-public organization, directed and operated by officials and staff loaned for short periods of time to the federal government by member companies. Among PfP activities was the production of an annual report containing statistics derived from EEO-10 reports showing changes in minority employment by job category over time. In terms of percentages, such changes appeared substantial because of the extremely low base. On an absolute basis, the numbers remained stubbornly small in areas of significance. For example, black participation in the overall nonagricultural labor force in 1960 was 7.9 percent. The first SF-40 reports in 1962 showed aggregate black employment among government contractors, excluding PfP, as 6.3 percent. PfP reports for 91 companies that joined during the period 1961-63 showed a black average of 5.0 percent in May 1961 and 5.1 percent in January 1963. For white-collar jobs, the January 1963 figure for black employment was 1.6 percent. For black skilled craft workers, it was 2.3 percent.[6] It was on the basis of such a record that more than voluntary activities became necessary toward the end of the decade.

Title VII

The term, "affirmative action," was also incorporated in law in Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Section 706 (g) of Title VII states:

> "If the court finds that the respondent has intentionally engaged in or is intentionally engaging in an unlawful employment practice charged in the complaint, the court may enjoin the respondent from engaging in such unlawful employment practice, *and order such affirmative action as may be appropriate*, which may include, but is not limited to, reinstatement or hiring of employees, with or without back pay . . . or any other equitable relief as the court deems appropriate." (emphasis added)[7]

Litigation under Title VII, and the role of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) as *amicus curiae*, early on firmly established the position that the power of the courts to "order such affirmative action as may be appropriate" included such remedies as the setting of court-imposed quotas to correct the effects of past discrimination. As stated in an EEOC report submitted by Acting Chairman J. Clay Smith to the House Subcommittee on Employment Opportunities on October 7, 1981: "All nine of the Federal Courts of Appeals that have considered the legality of fixed goal requirements have found them lawful when necessary to remedy discrimination, and the Supreme Court has declined to review these rulings."[8] However, the validity of court-imposed quotas has been repeatedly attacked by the Reagan administration, and, although not involved in the Supreme Court's June 1984 decision in the Memphis firefighters' case, was brought into question in the majority opinion of Justice White.[9]

At the same time, the legal interpretation of "discrimination" took a historic turn that was to determine the conditions under which affirmative action could be ordered by the courts. In *Griggs* v. *Duke Power Company*, the Supreme Court unanimously ruled that the existence of discrimination was to be inferred not alone by a finding of intent to discriminate, but also through an analysis of the consequences of employment practices.[10] In invalidating general intelligence tests and other criteria for employment that resulted in a disproportionate exclusion of blacks, and were not shown to be dictated by business necessity, the Court stated: "[G]ood intent . . . does not redeem employment procedures or test-

ing mechanisms that operate as 'built-in headwinds' for minority groups and are unrelated to measuring job capability."

In contrast to the "intent" test, which is very difficult to prove due to its subjectivity, the "consequences" test could be applied more readily through the use of statistics. It could also be directed against general employment practices as distinguished from particular discriminatory actions. In addition, it facilitated the application of the law on behalf of classes of plaintiffs. Over time, the courts elaborated the procedures to be used to make a statistical determination of discriminatory consequences.[11] Thus, the broader interpretation of the concept of discrimination increased the power of the courts over time to order affirmative action in a broader range of cases. The beneficiaries were not only those individuals who had experienced discrimination, but also members of their whole class; e.g., blacks, Hispanics, women, etc.

Revised Order No. 4

Identical language to E.O. 10925 was included later in President Johnson's Executive Order 11246, issued September 24, 1965, except that the language of Title VII, "race, color, religion, sex, or national origin," was used in place of "race, creed, color, or national origin." The executive order also replaced the PCEEO with an Office of Federal Contract Compliance in the Department of Labor, later changed to the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs (OFCCP). However, the first regulations to implement the executive order were not issued until May 1968.

The earlier approaches to affirmative action had not defined it in terms of specific actions, but rather vaguely in terms of undefined results. The 1968 regulations for the first time required specific steps to be taken for each of a contractor's establishments. These steps were subsequently spelled out in more detail in Order No. 4, an instruction to the contracting agencies. A second set of regulations was issued in 1970, and was significantly revised in 1971.[12] This Revised Order No. 4 is still largely in effect.

Revised Order No. 4 set forth procedures requiring a "utilization analysis" and setting of goals and timetables for each establishment of a nonconstruction contractor or subcontractor with 50 or more employees and a contract of $50,000 or over. The required utilization analysis has two parts: a workforce analysis, and a determination of under-utilization. The workforce analysis requires ranking of job titles from lowest to highest paid within each department, with separate listings for separate work units or lines of progression. Information to be given for each job title includes: total number of all incumbents by sex; total number of all incumbents by sex in each of four designated minority groups; and the wage rate or salary range.[13] The order indicated that special attention must be given to job titles that fall within specified EEO-1 job categories, where minorities and women are likely to be under-utilized.[14]

The second part of the utilization analysis is the determination of "under-utilization" within "job groups." Under-utilization is defined as having "fewer minorities or women in a particular job group than would reasonably be expected by their availability." A "job group" consists of jobs having "similar content, wage rates and opportunities." the utilization analysis must be made separately for minorities and women. For this purpose, the four designated minority groups are combined into a single entity labelled "minorities." The contractor is required to make an eight-factor analysis, including the following:

> (i) The minority population of the labor area surrounding the facility;
> (ii) The size of the minority unemployment force in the labor area surrounding the facility;
> (iii) The percentage of the minority work force as compared with the total work force in the immediate labor area;
> (iv) The general availability of minorities having requisite skills in the immediate labor area;
> (v) The availability of minorities having requisite skills in an area in which the contractor can reasonably recruit;
> (vi) The availability of promotable and transferable minorities within the contractor's organization;
> (vii) The existence of training institutions capable of training persons in the requisite skills; and
> (viii) The degree of training which the contractor is reasonably able to undertake as a means of making all job classes available to minorities.

The latter seven factors are identical for the separate analysis covering women. The first factor is deleted and replaced by another: "(i) the availability of women seeking employment in the labor or recruitment area of the contractor." The population analysis was omitted as not applicable to women, a large proportion of whom were not in the labor force.

Because of the misinterpretations and confusion about goals and timetables, and the increasingly controversial issues involving them, it is important to quote the exact language in Order No. 4 (§60-2.12) on the estabishment of goals and timetables:

> (a) The goals and timetables developed by the contractor should be attainable in terms of the contractor's analysis of its deficiencies and its entire affirmative action program. Thus, in establishing the size of its goals and the length of its timetables, the contractor should consider the results which could reasonably be expected from its putting forth every good faith effort to make its overall affirmative action program work. In determining levels of goals, the contractor should consider at least the factors listed in §60-2.11.

(b) Involve personnel relations staff, department and division heads, and local and unit managers in the goal-setting process.

(c) Goals should be significant, measurable and attainable.

(d) Goals should be specific for planned results, with timetables for completion.

(e) Goals may not be rigid and inflexible quotas which must be met, but must be targets reasonably attainable by means of applying every good faith effort to make all aspects of the entire affirmative action program work.

(f) In establishing timetables to meet goals and commitments, the contractor will consider the anticipated expansion, contraction, and turnover of and in the work force.

(g) Goals, timetables, and affirmative action commitments must be designed to correct any identifiable deficiencies.

(h) Where deficiencies exist and where numbers or percentages are relevant in developing corrective action, the contractor shall establish and set forth specific goals and timetables separately for minorities and women.

(i) Such goals and timetables, with supporting data and the analysis thereof, shall be a part of the contractor's written affirmative action program and shall be maintained at each establishment of the contractor.

(j) A contractor or subcontractor extending a publicly announced preference for Indians as authorized in 41 CFR 60-1.5(a)(6) may reflect in its goals and timetables the permissive employment preference for Indians living on or near an Indian reservation.

(k) Where the contractor has not established a goal, its written affirmative action program must specifically analyze each of the factors listed in §60-2.11 and must detail its reason for a lack of a goal.

(l) In the event it comes to the attention of the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs that there is a substantial disparity in the utilization of a particular minority group or men or women of a particular minority group, OFCCP may require separate goals and timetables for such minority group and may further require, where appropriate, such goals and timetables by sex for such group for such job classifications and organizational units specified by the OFCCP.

(m) Support date for the required analysis and program shall be compiled and maintained as part of the contractor's affirmative action program. This data will include but not be limited to progression line charts, seniority rosters, applicant flow data, and applicant rejection ratios indicating minority and sex status.

(n) Copies of affirmative action programs and/or copies of support data shall be made available to the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs, upon request, for such purposes as may be appropriate to the fulfillment of its responsibilities under Executive Order 11246, as amended.

Of particular significance is subsection (e) which emphasizes that goals "may not be rigid and inflexible quotas," but must be "targets reasonably attainable by every good faith effort."

By 1968, when the first interpretations of affirmative action were incorporated by the OFCCP into regulations, it had become clear that voluntary programs had made no significant changes in employment practices. Statistics from employer reports obtained on Form EEO-1 showed little progress. Nor did the emphasis on recruitment activities and complaint processing produce any significant results. Although the situation would seem to have been ripe for large-scale utilization of the penalty provisions in the executive order, repeated annual critiques in reports of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights revealed a very sparing resort to penalties by the OFCCP, as well as its predecessor PCEEO. The tools of contract termination and debarment turned out to be much weaker in actuality than in theory, and frequent contemporary criticism of the enforcement agencies on this ground missed the point. Real power did not exist to deprive a contracting agency of the procurement it felt it must have, particularly if the function of the procurement was national defense. That is why whatever debarment procedures that did occur tended to be directed toward smaller firms with small contracts. Furthermore, legal requirements for debarment, as they developed, became increasingly time-consuming.

At the same time, there were strong pressures on the government to produce results. Urban riots, increasing civil rights militance, the promises of the "Great Society" programs, all contributed to a sense of urgency to show immediate results. The innovations of Revised Order No. 4 therefore were intended to produce results, not just to engage in bureaucratic exercises. Hence the threefold requirements of workforce analysis, under-utilization determinations, and goals and timetables. The trend in interpreting Title VII toward focusing on the consequences of past discriminatory practices, and providing remedies for such practices, made these requirements seem reasonable. An additional purpose served by the order was to give direction to and unify the activities of the several contracting agencies, each of which had been interpreting the executive order in its own way, thus confronting employers with differing requirements.

It should be emphasized that the program had strong bipartisan support. Although the first regulations had been developed during the Johnson administration, the detailed and articulated provisions of Revised Order No. 4 were produced by the Nixon administration's Labor Department and did not go into effect until late 1971. Nor was there any but scattered opposition from employers at the time. Clearly, business seemed to recognize the requirements as a condition for government contracting, and therefore accepted the "results" orientation.

John Feild, a former exective director of the PCEEO, has pointed out in a recent study that the regulations had been widely discussed in regional conferences sponsored by Plans for Progress and National Association of Manufacturers before their final adoption. And, "as part of the NAM's effort to accelerate change,

in February 1970, the organization went to considerable expense to arrange a major 'teleconference' hook-up in a dozen different cities across the country to which they invited business and civic leaders."[15]

Clearly, a large segment of industry wanted the government to lay down guidelines by which their activities could be measured. The absence of standards left them without knowledge of how affirmative action was going to be evaluated, and hence open to adverse *ad hoc* rulings by government agency personnel conducting compliance reviews and by federal courts deciding discrimination cases. In consequence, financial liability could be onerous. An additional motive for desiring guidelines was top management's need of objective criteria to present to lower levels of management and to evaluate their performance. Without such standards it is extremely doubtful that employers would have been able to overcome what the *Griggs* court called "built-in headwinds" of practices and attitudes that made antidiscrimination actions so difficult to effectuate.

In a survey of fifty major federal contractors, conducted for the Center for National Policy Review, Feild found widespread commitment to affirmative action policies. He stated that "none of those interviewed believes the program should be weakened." He found that "the affirmative action concept has become an integral part of today's corporate personnel management philosophy and practice. The management of affirmative action plans has become a highly professionalized specialty within the personnel management field." Feild concluded: "Most corporate executives see affirmative action as an essential management tool which reinforces accountability and maximizes the utilization of the talents of their entire work force. None see the 'goals and timetables' element in their affirmative action plans as requiring the use of 'quotas.' Without exception those interviewed were opposed to quotas on the basis of race or sex."[16]

Thus, companies settled down to making the program an integral part of their operations. The methodology and machinery adopted by the government, and the consequent cooperative compliance of business and industry, were essential to produce the results that were achieved. These achievements were indeed significant, a fact often ignored in debates over "goals versus quotas."

Affirmative Action in Construction

The construction industry, initially not covered by Executive Order 10925 in 1961, was shortly brought under its provisions by Executive Order 11114 in 1963, and the coverage was continued by Executive Order 11246 in 1965. All federally-assisted construction contractors were covered, including those receiving government grants, contracts, loans, and insurance or guarantees. However, the government's actual power over the industry was severely limited because coverage did not extend to the building trades unions.

The nature of employment relationships in construction tends to mirror the nature of the work, which is on a project-by-project basis. Workers frequently are not attached to any particular firm but rather move from project to project, and therefore company to company, through hiring halls and other types of referral arrangements, in which the unions play a major, if not paramount, role. The unions also traditionally have been the gatekeepers of entrance into the trades through participation in joint apprenticeship committees. The government's earlier programs had emphasized voluntary cooperation of unions to eliminate segregated locals and to open doors to their training programs to blacks and other minorities. However, equal employment programs soon faced a barrier most difficult to surmount—the paucity of qualified minority candidates, because union control over training and qualifications had created a virtually all-white workforce in the majority of the trades. Hence, pressures on contractors to hire blacks and other minorities could not produce results because there were so few in the workforce.

Under public pressure during the early and middle 1960s, and with the growing civil rights militancy, the unions agreed to open their apprenticeship programs to minorities. However, as a result of previous discrimination in the trades, there was also a shortage of qualified minority applicants for apprenticeship programs. One approach to increasing the supply of such applicants was the establishment of Apprenticeship Information Centers (AIC) by the Department of Labor. These centers, set up in several cities to act as clearinghouses between minorities and the industry and to screen and counsel applicants, had very limited success due in part to limited cooperation from the industry.[17]

Much more successful was the Outreach Program, initially the Apprenticeship Outreach Program, and later broadened to include the placement of journeymen and other levels of workers. Apprenticeship Outreach was begun as a program to recruit and place minorities, but, because of the limited number of qualified candidates, it shifted its emphasis to selection and training of minority youth to qualify for apprenticeship. The program had its origin in suc-

cessful efforts of the Workers Defense League (WDL), a human rights organization in New York City. With initial grants from the Taconic Foundation, which gives major support ot the Potomac Institute, the WDL undertook to break down barriers to training of minorities in the crafts.[18] The type of program developed by the WDL first obtained the support of local unions in New York, and then of the Civil Rights Department of the AFL-CIO and of its Building Trades Department. Subsequently, the Department of Labor financed expansion of the WDL-type of operation to over 100 projects in different cities throughout the United States. Four categories of sponsorship were developed, including those sponsored by the National Urban League, by the Human Resources Development Institute of the AFL-CIO, by a WDL affiliate called Recruitment and Training Program, and by various local sponsors. Affirmative action goals and timetables also were mandated for registered apprenticeship programs by the Department of Labor.[19]

While Apprenticeship Outreach aimed at expanding the workforce of trained minority craft workers, the OFCCP sought to use Executive Order 11246 to assure greater utilization of minorities on current federal and federally-assisted contracts. Since the majority of white craft workers had not come up through the apprenticeship route, the OFCCP felt that the very emphasis on apprenticeship reflected disparate treatment, and that minorities capable of doing the required work could be obtained from nonunion sources.

From its inception, the OFCCP itself played a direct role in construction programs, in contrast to nonconstruction programs where the contracting agencies had the major responsibilities subject only to policy direction, review, and oversight by the OFCCP. As early as 1967, OFCCP area coordinators were assigned to oversee construction programs in more than a dozen metropolitan areas. Special area plans were developed, at first in four cities: St. Louis, San Francisco, Cleveland, and Philadelphia. These were judged illegal by the General Accounting Office as requiring pre-award contract commitments. The OFCCP then reestablished the plans with "bid conditions" to be included in all "invitations to bid" on construction contracts.[20]

The metropolitan area construction programs followed one of two concepts: "imposed plans" or "hometown plans." For the imposed plans, the OFCCP would set goals and timetables for specified trades considered deficient in minority representation. The goals were a range of percentages of minority utilization that contractors were expected to meet within a set period. In the hometown plans, local committees rather than the OFCCP would set the goals and timetables. The local committees typically consisted of equal representation of contractors, unions, and minority organizations.[21]

The prototype of the imposed plan was the Philadelphia Plan, strongly resisted by the industry and unions, but validated in federal court.[22] In all, there were a total of seven imposed plans covering the following metropolitan areas: Philadelphia, Washington, San Francisco, St. Louis, Atlanta, Camden, and Chicago. The total number of hometown areas was in excess of 60. Until 1976, when compliance agencies were instructed to develop special "bid conditions" for specified nonplan areas, the program extended only to the approximately 70 areas covered by imposed and hometown plans.[23]

To monitor compliance in the construction programs, the OFCCP required reporting by contractors on special forms. Initially, Optional Form 66, "Monthly Manpower Utilization Report," was used, requiring, by trade, total hours of employment and hours of minority employment (combined and separately for each minority group) at each federal or federally-assisted construction site. In August 1976, this was replaced by Form 257, "Monthly Employment Utilization Report." This form required, by trade, total hours worked, hours worked by minorities (separately and combined), hours worked by women, ratio of minority to total hours worked, number of all employees, and number of combined minority employees.

A year later, the OFCCP set uniform goals for hours worked by women in construction for all trades nationwide. The goals were 3.1 percent the first year the regulations were in effect, 5.0 percent the second year, and 6.9 percent the third year.[24] The last figure remains in effect at the time of this writing.

In 1980, the system of establishing goals and timetables for separate trades in both imposed and hometown plans was abandoned. In its place, the OFCCP set a single percentage goal for all trades within each Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA), and for broader Economic Areas to cover counties outside of SMSAs. These goals were based on civilian labor force figures for the respective areas, obtained from the 1970 census. Before the new regulation was adopted, the EEOC, in its role of coordinator of all government equal employment opportunity policy under Executive Order 12067, raised objections to setting combined minority goals on the grounds that aggregating minorities tended to mask discrimination against particular minority groups. The EEOC

presented statistics to show that, on a national basis, blacks were much more under-utilized in construction than Hispanics or American Indians. Public comment was requested on this issue in October 1979. Eventually, the EEOC went along with a temporary approval of the regulation, and the matter has not been reconsidered to date.

Reorganization of EEO Responsibilities, 1978

The 1970s witnessed a widespread expansion of equal employment opportunity programs. Most federal agencies that provided benefits of any type to private or public employers developed programs requiring such employers to provide equal employment opportunities, and created staffs to administer the programs. Types of employers covered included: government contractors; recipients of financial assistance in the form of loans, grants or guarantees; state and local government recipients of revenue sharing; and licensees and other federally-regulated employers. Employees, including applicants for employment, were protected by law from discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, national origin, age, veterans status, and handicap. The legal bases for such regulations were several laws and executive orders dealing directly or indirectly with employment.[25]

A growing reaction was directed against the proliferation of agencies operating EEO programs and the duplication of EEO requirements. There were demands for coordination, centralization, and simplification. In February 1978, the Carter administration addressed these objections by taking major steps to reduce EEO overlapping jurisdictions, correct decentralized and uncoordinated activities, and improve the efficiency of certain programs through the Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1978.[26] The plan transferred the administration of certain functions from the Department of Labor and the Civil Service Commission (later the Office of Personnel Management [OPM]) to the EEOC. The EEOC itself had undergone an internal reorganization in 1977 and had regained a renewal of public confidence lost during the previous four years of a growing, unresolved caseload and frequent changes of leadership. The changes made by the Reorganization Plan are summarized on the next page.

The plan transferred to the EEOC almost all of the OPM's functions concerning EEO in the federal workforce. One exception was responsibility for recruitment programs.[27] A second exception was the OPM's continued operation of the federal workforce statistical program. Transferred to the EEOC from the Labor Department was responsibility for administering laws prohibiting discrimination on the basis of age, and requiring equal pay with regard to sex.[28]

In addition, the Reorganization Plan transferred to the EEOC all functions of the Equal Employment Opportunity Coordinating Council, which Section 715 of the 1972 amendments to Title VII had given to five agencies, including the EEOC. The Coordinating Council had been practically dormant in recent years as a result of contention between agencies on major issues, particularly those concerning employment selection procedures. With the reorganization, these issues were resolved expeditiously, and the Uniform Guidelines for Employee Selection Procedures were adopted by all the concerned agencies.[29] The new coordination functions of EEOC were set forth in detail in Executive Order 12067, issued June 30, 1978.[30] The order also gave the EEOC a consultative and review function in the development and adoption of all proposed rules, regulations, policies, procedures, and orders pertaining to equal employment opportunity. This new responsibility put the EEOC in the position to evaluate all affirmative action programs, as well as to operate affirmative action programs for federal employees.

The other major change brought about by the Reorganization Plan was the consolidation of all federal contractor compliance activities in the OFCCP, eliminating the previous dual contracting agency-OFCCP roles. This was effectuated in Executive Order 12086 on October 5, 1978. Apparently, it was President Carter's intention to make this a temporary order, and later to consolidate all contractor compliance activities in the EEOC; but that was never implemented.

Legal Challenges to Affirmative Action

Although there have been challenges to the constitutionality of Executive Order 11246, the courts have upheld its legality.[31] The right of the federal government to require government contractors to develop their own goals and timetables under affirmative action programs, as "targets" and not "quotas," has far less frequently been singled out for attack in the broiling controversies over affirmative action than court-ordered hiring or promotion quotas to remedy past discrimination in employment, voluntary quotas for training or other employment purposes, admissions quotas by educational institutions, and other actions involving minority or female "set-asides."

Comparison of Current and Proposed Allocation of Equal Employment Authorities

Current Dispersed Responsibility		Equal Employment Authorities		Proposed Consolidation	
Agency	**Program**	**Discrimination Covered**	**Employers Covered**	**Agency**	**Timing**
EEOC	Title VII	Race, Color, Religion, Sex, National Origin	Private and public non-Federal employers and unions	EEOC	
Labor (Wage and Hour)	Equal Pay Act, Age Discrimination Act	Sex, Age	Private and public non-Federal employers and unions	EEOC	July 1979
Civil Service Commission	Title VII, Executive Order 11478, Equal Pay Act, Age Discrimination Act, Rehabilitation Act	Race, Color, Religion, Sex, National Origin, Age, Handicapped	Federal government	EEOC	October 1978
EEOCC*	Coordination of all Federal equal employment programs	.....	.....	EEOC	July 1979
Labor (OFCCP)	Vietnam Veterans Readjustment Act, Rehabilitation Act	Veterans Handicapped	Federal contractors		
Commerce Defense Energy EPA GSA HEW HUD Interior SBA DOT Treasury	Executive Orders 11246, 11375	Race, Color, Religion, Sex, National Origin	Federal contractors	Labor (OFCCP)	October 1978
Justice	Title VII, Executive Order 11246, selected Federal grant programs	Race, Color, Religion, Sex, National Origin Varied	Public non-Federal employers Federal contractors and grantees	Justice	No change

*Equal Employment Opportunity Coordinating Council. A number of Federal grant statutes include a provision barring employment discrimination by recipients based on a variety of grounds including race, color, sex, and national origin. Under the reorganization plan, the activities of these agencies will be coordinated by the EEOC.

Source: Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1978.

The issue of set-asides has been ruled on by the Supreme Court in three cases. In 1978, the court ruled in *Regents of the University of California* v. *Bakke* concerning the right of a medical school to set aside a specified number of places for minority admissions in the absence of any evidence of legal violation.[12] The Medical School of the University of California at Davis in 1970 reserved 16 of 100 openings for qualified minorities because there had been a very low rate of minority admissions: three Asians, and no blacks, Hispanics, or American Indians. Alan Bakke, a white male, sued, claiming that his failure to be accepted was a result of this set-aside and the admission of minority applicants with lower academic credentials. He claimed discrimination on the basis of race in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment and Title VII. The Supreme Court sharply divided 4 to 4 on the issue of affirmative action, and Justice Powell in a separate decision ruled in favor of Bakke on narrow grounds while supporting the concept of affirmative action under other conditions.

Steelworkers v. *Weber*, decided in 1979, involved a training program for skilled craft workers negotiated in 1974 between the Kaiser Aluminum and Chemical Corporation in Gramercy, Louisiana, and the United Steelworkers of America.[13] The program provided that trainees be selected on the basis of seniority, but that half the openings be reserved for blacks until the proportion of black craft workers at the Kaiser plant, then 2 percent, met the proportion of blacks in the area labor force, about 39 percent. Until the training program was negotiated, all craft workers in the plant were obtained from outside the company's workforce. With adoption of the program, white production workers in the plant, as well as black, were given training for the first time to upgrade their skills.

A white production worker, Brian Weber, sued on the grounds that he had not been selected for training because of the set-asides for blacks, some of whom had been accepted with less seniority than his. The Supreme Court in a 5 to 2 decision, ruled against Weber. The issue between the majority and minority on the Court was the intent of Title VII's prohibition against discrimination based on race versus the language and history of Section 703(j) barring "preferential treatment" on account of statistical imbalance. The majority argued that craft jobs had traditionally been closed to blacks because of exclusion by craft unions, and that the 1964 Act had not been intended to prohibit voluntary, private efforts to end racial segregation. It further stated that the program did not create an absolute bar to the advancement of white employees, pointing out that they as well as blacks would not have been eligible for craft jobs without the training programs.

The Court did set up certain standards for affirmative action programs. They must "not unnecessarily trammel the interest of white employees." Whites may not be discharged to make room for blacks. Nor may the affirmative action plan "create an absolute bar to the advancement of white employees." Also, the plan must be temporary, and "not intended to maintain racial balance, but simply to eliminate a manifest racial imbalance."

The EEOC, which had proposed affirmative action guidelines on December 28, 1977, and had held up making them final pending the *Weber* decision, published its final guidelines on January 19, 1979.[14] The purpose of the guidelines was to establish conditions for insulating employers, unions, and employment agencies from claims of reverse discrimination resulting from implementation of affirmative action programs. The EEOC recognized the "double jeopardy" bind in which an employer could find itself either because of under-representation of minorities or women, or because of charges of reverse discrimination due to remedial action, and concluded that Congress clearly did not intend to create such a "no win" situation. The EEOC guidelines provided direction to employers who chose to initiate a voluntary affirmative action program, and offered them some immunity to enable them to come into compliance with the law.

In 1980, the Supreme Court again decided an issue involving set-asides in *Fullilove* v. *Klutznick*.[15] It ruled constitutional a provision of the Public Works Employment Act of 1977 which required state and local governments to set aside 10 percent of federal funds granted for public works to obtain services or supplies from businesses owned or controlled by minority-group persons. Any question as to the right of Congress to legislate set-asides on the basis of race or national origin was thereby resolved.

The Reagan administration has persistently argued against the application of any court-ordered remedies to benefit persons other than those proved to have been the victims of illegal discrimination. The argument against "quotas" has been made on both statutory and constitutional grounds. A case in which the Justice Department filed an *amicus curiae* brief, *Firefighters* v. *Stotts*, was decided by the Supreme Court in June 1984.[16] The city of Memphis had entered into a consent decree to remedy its fire department's hiring and promotion practices with respect to blacks. Later, a budgetary shortage required a layoff of per-

sonnel. Under the seniority provisions of the union contract, black firemen, newly hired under the consent decree, would be among those laid off. A district court decision, affirmed by the court of appeals, imposed a modified layoff plan which protected the black employees. The Supreme Court, however, ruled that the modified layoff plan was invalid because section 703(h) of Title VII protects bona fide seniority systems, and there had been no finding that any of the black firemen protected from layoff had previously been victims of discrimination.

Justice Byron White, in his majority opinion, went beyond the issues of the case and stated that the policy behind section 706(g) of Title VII, which permits the courts to order affirmative action, "is to provide make-whole relief only to those who have been actual victims of illegal discrimination." This statement may or may not foretell the decision of the court in some future case involving the issue of quota relief under 706(g). If so, it would go counter to decisions of appeals courts in all nine circuits, and never reversed by the Supreme Court.[17] We also note that Justice White himself voted in favor of set-asides in *Bakke*, *Weber*, and *Fullilove*.

References

For a thorough summary of the history of affirmative action and an analysis of the issues and the public debate concerning affirmative action, see *Affirmative Action to Open the Doors of Job Opportunity: A Policy of Fairness and Compassion That as Worked*, Citizens' Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, D.C., 1984.

1. *Affirmative Action: The Unrealized Goal*, The Potomac Institute, Washington, D.C., 1973, pp. 6-7.

2. Agencies represented on the PCEEO as specified in Executive Order 10925 were the Department of Labor, Atomic Energy Commission, Department of Commerce, Department of Justice, Department of Defense, and its component Departments of Army, Navy, and Air Force, General Services Administration, Civil Service Commission, and National Aeronautics and Space Administration. The subsequent Executive Order 11114, extending the program to federally funded construction programs, added the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the Housing and Home Finance Agency as members of the PCEEO.

3. The format of Standard Form 40 was adapted in 1966 with some necessary changes to create the joint report form, EEO-1, still in use by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs.

4. One important source of such personnel was the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials (NAIRO), many of whose members had civil rights positions in state and local governments.

5. The activities of the PCEEO and Plans for Progress were described in detail in President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, *Report to the President*, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., November 26, 1963.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 19, 116.

7. 42 U.S.C. §2000e *et seq.*

8. FIRST CIRCUIT: *NAACP v. Beecher*, 504 F.2d 1017 (1st Cir. 1974), *cert. denied*, 421 U.S. 910 (1975); *Associated General Contractors v. Altshuler*, 490 F.2d 9 (1st Cir. 1973), *cert. denied*, 416 U.S. 957 (1974); SECOND CIRCUIT: *Rios v. Enterprise Ass'n Steamfitters Local 638*, 501 F.2d 622 (2d Cir. 1974); *Bridgeport Guardians, Inc. v. Civil Service Commission*, 482 F.2d 1333 (2d Cir. 1973), *cert. denied*, 421 U.S. 991 (1975); *United States v. Wood, Wire & Metal Lathers Local 46*, 471 F.2d 408 (2d Cir.), *cert. denied*, 412 U.S. 939 (1973); *Vulcan Society v. Civil Service Commission*, 490 F.2d 387 (2d Cir. 1973); THIRD CIRCUIT: *Erie Human Relations Commission v. Tullio*, 493 F.2d 371 (3d Cir. 1974); *Contractors Association v. Secretary of Labor*, 442 F.2d 159 (3d Cir.), *cert. denied*, 404 U.S. 854 (1971); FOURTH CIRCUIT: *Sherrill v. J.P. Stevens & Co.*, 410 F.Supp. 770 (W.D.N.C. 1975), *aff'd*, 561 F.2d 308 (4th Cir. 1977); FIFTH CIRCUIT: *NAACP v. Allen*, 493 F.2d 614 (5th Cir. 1974); *Morrow v. Crisler*, 491 F.2d 1053 (5th Cir. 1974) *en banc*, *cert. denied*, 419 U.S. 895 (1974); *Local 53, Int'l Ass'n of Heat and Frost Insulators and Asbestos Workers v. Vogler*, 407 F.2d 1047 (5th Cir. 1969); SIXTH CIRCUIT: *United States v. Masonry Contractors Ass'n*, 497 F.2d 871 (6th Cir. 1974); *United States v. Local 212, IBEW*, 472 F.2d 634 (6th Cir. 1973); *Sims v. Sheet Metal Workers Local 65*, 489 F.2d 1023 (6th Cir. 1973); *United States v. Local 38, IBEW*, 428 F.2d 144 (6th Cir.) *cert. denied*, 400 U.S. 943 (1970); SEVENTH CIRCUIT: *United States v. City of Chicago*, 549 F.2d 415 (7th Cir. 1977), *cert. denied*, 434 U.S. 875 (1977); *Crockett v. Green*, 534 F.2d 715 (7th Cir. 1976); *Southern Ill. Builders Ass'n v. Ogilvie*, 471 F.2d 680 (7th Cir. 1972); EIGHTH CIRCUIT: *Firefighters Institute for Racial Equality v. City of St. Louis*, 588 F.2d 235 (8th Cir. 1978), *cert. denied*, 443 U.S. 904 (1979); *United States v. N.L. Indus., Inc.*, 479 F.2d 354 (8th Cir. 1973); *Carter v. Gallagher*, 452 F.2d 327 (8th Cir. 1971) *en banc*, *cert. denied*, 406 U.S. 950 (1972); NINTH CIRCUIT: *United States v. Ironworkers Local 86*, 443 F.2d 544 (9th Cir.), *cert. denied*, 404 U.S. 984 (1971).

9. *Firefighters Local Union No. 1784 v. Stotts*, 52 U.S. Law Week, p. 4767, June 12, 1984.

10. 401 U.S. 424 (1971).

11. In *McDonnell Douglas v. Green*, the Supreme Court elaborated a four-step procedure for making a statistical case of discrimination. 411 U.S. 792 (1973).

12. 41 C.F.R. 60-2. For a description of the steps leading up to adoption of Revised Order No. 4, see U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Federal Civil Rights Enforcement Effort*, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1970, Chapter 2, Section III C, pp. 156 *et seq.*; and for a description of requirements of the order, see the Commission's, *The Federal Civil Rights Enforcement Effort—1974*, Vol. V, "To Eliminate Employment Discrimination," U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1975, pp. 236-244.

13. The minority groups designated in Order No. 4 are blacks, Spanish-surnamed Americans, American Indians, and Orientals. They are the same groups as on EEO-1, except for some changes from time to time in nomenclature and subgroups included. The current designations in the EEO-1 are: black, Hispanic, Asian or Pacific Islander, and American Indian or Alaskan Native.

14. For minority groups, the designated job categories are: officials and managers, professionals, technicians, sales workers, office and clerical, and craftsmen (skilled). For women, they are: officials and managers, professionals, technicians, sales workers (except over-the-counter sales in certain retail establishments), and craftsmen (skilled and semi-skilled). The EEO-1 actually reserves the term "craftsmen" to skilled jobs, and uses another term, "operatives," for semi-skilled jobs.

15. John Feild, *Affirmative Action: A Fresh Look at the Record Twenty-Two Years After the Beginning*, Center for National Policy Review, Washington, D.C., 1984.

16. *Ibid.*

17. F. Ray Marshall and Vernon M. Briggs, Jr., *The Negro and Apprenticeship*, Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1967, pp. 208-218.

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 72-80.

19. 29 C.F.R. Part 30.

20. U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Federal Civil Rights Enforcement Effort*, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1970, pp. 166-172, 201-202.

21. A detailed description and history of the construction program is presented in U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *The Federal Civil Rights Enforcement Effort—1974*, Vol. V, "To Eliminate Employment Discrimination," U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1975, pp. 343-385.

22. *Contractors' Association of Eastern Pennsylvania v. Secretary of Labor*, 442 F.2d 159, 171-73 (3rd Cir. 1971), *cert. denied*, 404 U.S. 854 (1971).

23. U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *The Federal Civil Rights Enforcement Effort—1977*, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1977, pp. 126-138.

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 134-135.

25. Several agencies have based their EEO responsibilities on Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (42 U.S.C. §2000d *et seq.*); others on specific federal grant or regulatory statutes which bar employment discrimination. Sex discrimination in pay is prohibited by the Equal Pay Act of 1963 (29 U.S.C. §206(d)); age discrimination by the Age Discrimination Act of 1967 (20 U.S.C. §621 *et seq.*); discrimination against handicapped persons by the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 (29 U.S.C. §§791, 793, 794).

26. *Federal Register*, Doc. 78-12759, filed May 5, 1978.

27. The so-called "Garcia Amendment," Section 310 of the Civil Service Reform Act of 1978 (5 U.S.C. §7151), retained recruitment responsibility in the OPM.

28. See reference 25.

29. 29 C.F.R. 1607 (1979).

30. *Federal Register*, Doc. 78-18686, filed June 30, 1978.

31. *Associated Gen. Contractors v. Altshuler*, 490 F.2d 9, 16-17 (1st Cir. 1973), *cert. denied*, 416 U.S. 957 (1974); *Southern Ill. Builders Ass'n v. Ogilvie*, 471 F.2d 680, 684-85 (7th Cir. 1972); *Contractors Ass'n v. Sec'y of Labor*, 442 F.2d 159, 171-73 (3rd Cir. 1971), *cert. denied*, 404 U.S. 854 (1971); *Legal Aid Soc'y of Alameda County v. Brennan*, 608 F.2d 1319, 1341-43 (9th Cir. 1979) (dictum), *cert. denied*, 100 S. Ct. 3010 (1980); *U.S. v. Mississippi Power and Light Co.*, 638 F.2d 899 (5th Cir. 1981), *cert. denied*, 50 U.S.L.W. 3271 (October 1981).

32. *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke*, 438 U.S. 265 (1978).

33. *Steelworkers v. Weber*, 443 U.S. 193 (1979).

34. 29 C.F.R. 1608 (1979).

35. *Fullilove v. Klutznick*, 448 U.S. 448 (1980).

36. *Firefighters Local Union No. 1984 v. Stotts*, 52 U.S. Law Week, p. 4767, June 12, 1984.

37. See reference 8.

CHAPTER II

OVERVIEW: Trends in Incomes of Minorities and Women

In its earlier study, the Potomac Institute found that both black and white families had substantially increased their real incomes in the decade of the '60s, and that blacks further had made some moderate income gains relative to whites. The ratio of "black and other" to white median annual income improved from 53 percent in 1962 to 64 percent in 1970.[1] Three factors were cited in explanation of this modest progress: (1) a relatively greater increase in the participation rate of black women in employment, which contributed to an increase in their family incomes; (2) general economic growth, a necessary factor for the economic improvement of blacks; and (3) limited improvements in the occupational status of blacks, due in part to improved occupational qualifications, and in part to some reduction in discrimination.

In disaggregating the statistics, it was found that substantial gains had been made throughout the income spectrum. The proportion of "black and other" families with incomes under $3,000 had decreased from 35 percent to 19 percent between 1961 and 1971. For whites, the decline was from 13 percent to 7 percent. Corresponding increases in family incomes over $10,000 were from 13 to 30 percent for "black and other" families and from 36 to 45 percent for whites.[2]

One consequence was a marked reduction in persons living in poverty by the end of the decade. Black persons living in families below the poverty level dropped from over one-half of all blacks in 1959 to less than one-third in 1972. For whites, the decrease was from one-fifth to less than one-tenth of all white persons during that period. Nevertheless, blacks, with 11 percent of the population, accounted for 32 percent of those in poverty in 1972.

The unemployment rate among blacks bordered on double the white rate throughout the decade of the '60s. The ratio improved toward the end of the decade, declining from 2.1 to 1 in 1960 and 1.8 to 1 in 1970. However, among teenagers, the black-to-white ratio worsened, increasing from 1.8 to 2.1 to 1 during the decade. The black teenage unemployment rate was 26.4 percent in 1960 and 29.1 percent in 1970.

The 1960s saw limited improved mobility of blacks into white-collar jobs and into blue-collar skilled craft jobs. Even so, by 1972 only 38 percent of employed black persons, compared with 65 percent of whites, were in such jobs. Moreover, annual earnings of blacks in each of the higher occupational categories were significantly less than those of whites, although the black-to-white ratios in all cases had much improved over the decade.

Incomes of black and white persons, male and female, improved with education level. The black-to-white income ratio also improved with education level, except in the case of older males. Higher education brought black females close to the earnings levels of white females. Significantly, however, both black and white females at all education levels employed full-time in 1969 had lower earnings than either comparably employed black or white males.

In looking ahead, the Potomac Institute study observed that "if the nonwhite minorities are to sustain their improved income rates and move increasingly into the middle-income group, the rapid economic growth and low unemployment rates of the mid-sixties will need to be maintained and continued into the 'seventies. Blacks usually are disproportionately affected by economic setbacks." Further, it was predicted that the kinds of jobs opening up in the next decade might slow the rates of black advancement because the fastest growing fields were in professional and technical areas requiring greater educational qualifications than those possessed by disadvantaged blacks. The study concluded: "A major task of the 'seventies, then, is to reconcile legitimate black expectations with white reluctance to forego unfair but traditional advantages in employment."[3]

The earlier study was limited to an analysis of statistics covering blacks in comparison to whites. The scope of this analysis has been expanded to include Hispanics, where such data are available, and women. Most Hispanic data, except for the decennial Census, have been published only since 1972. Where feasible, race and ethnic data are presented by sex. In most cases, the race-ethnic-sex comparisons are made with white males. This chapter deals with changes in income patterns over the decade of the 1970s. It covers family

and personal annual incomes of whites, blacks, and Hispanics, and of men and women. It examines the income data further by family status, age, years of education, geographical region, broad occupational groups, major industries, and poverty status.

Economic Changes in the 1970s

The 'seventies ushered in the end of the favorable economic conditions of rapid growth and low unemployment prescribed by the earlier Potomac study as essential to the continued progress of nonwhites. The middle of the decade saw the most severe recession that the nation had experienced up to that time in the post-World War II era. Unemployment, which stood at 4.9 percent in 1970, rose to 8.5 percent in 1975. While the recession subsided in the latter years of the decade, unemployment did not return to its earlier low level and continued to rise in the early 1980s. (See Table II-1.)

At the same time, a novel economic phenomenon labelled "stagflation" made its appearance, wherein economic stagnation failed to stem the inflationary tide of prices rising since the late 1960s. The Consumer Price Index moved inexorably upward year by year; the smallest increase was 5.6 percent in 1976 and the largest was 13.5 percent in 1980. In that year the Index was 112 percent higher than in 1970, prices having more than doubled in the decade. Cost increases were not leavened by increasing productivity. American businesses experienced more and more difficulty in competing with foreign products in American markets. Inflation fueled speculative leaps in certain sectors of industry, particularly housing. Wages and salaries were unable to keep up with prices, so that real income declined. The stage was set for the severe recession of 1981.

Increasing unemployment among white workers was inevitably accompanied by more serious levels of unemployment among minorities and youth. The black-to-white unemployment ratio, which had declined to 1.8 to 1 in 1970, moved up again to 2 to 1 and then remained well above that ratio. The black unemployment rate, which had reached a high of 14.7 percent in the recession of 1975, remained in the range of 12-14 percent through 1980, and by the end of 1981 rose to over 17 percent. Unemployment of black youth, always severe, remained near 40 percent throughout the second half of the '70s, and moved above that level in 1981. Unemployment data for Hispanics, available only since 1973, revealed rates between those of whites and blacks.

Family Income by Race and Ethnicity

The disastrous effects of "stagflation" on the wellbeing of all Americans, regardless of race and ethnicity, was evident when changes in nominal income are compared with changes in real income. In 1980, the actual median dollar income of all families in the United States was 113 percent higher than in 1970. Adjusting income for changes in prices during that period revealed virtually no change in medial real income—an increase of less than one-half of one percent. For white families, the increase was slightly higher, eight-tenths of a percent. For black families there was a decrease in real income of close to five percent. Year by year during the decade, real income, adjusted for prices, fluctuated up and down slightly, while nominal income moved rapidly higher, giving the illusion of progress, and driving incomes into higher tax brackets, further depleting spendable earnings. Real family income levels were maintained only by the considerably greater number of women entering the labor market. The rate of participation of women in the labor force increased substantially, from 42.0 percent in 1970 to 51.4 percent in 1980. Black women, by necessity always more involved than white women in the world of paid work, also increased their participation rate, though not as much, from 48.9 percent to 53.6 percent.

The net effect of "stagflation" in the '70s on black family income compared to white family income was to reverse the progress that had been achieved in the 1960s. The ratio of black-to-white family income, which was 55 percent in 1960, had risen to 61 percent in 1970. In 1980, it was 58 percent (See Table II-2.) The comparable ratio for Hispanics also declined from its high point in 1972, the first year for which Hispanic data were published. As previously noted, in the decade of the '60s both black and white families at all income levels had made substantial progress. There were many fewer families at lower income levels and many more at higher levels. (See Table II-3 and Charts II-1 and II-2.) In 1980, in contrast, there were more lower income black families than a decade earlier, and more lower income Hispanic families than in 1972. However, there also were more black and Hispanic families in the higher income brackets. Among whites, while there was no increase in the percentage of lower income families, there was a marked increase of those with higher incomes.

What is evident, therefore, is a widening of income differentials, accompanied by a larger proportion of higher income families regardless of race or ethnicity. This is an indication that affirmative action and

CHART II–1:

Low Income Families by Race and Ethnicity, 1970–1980

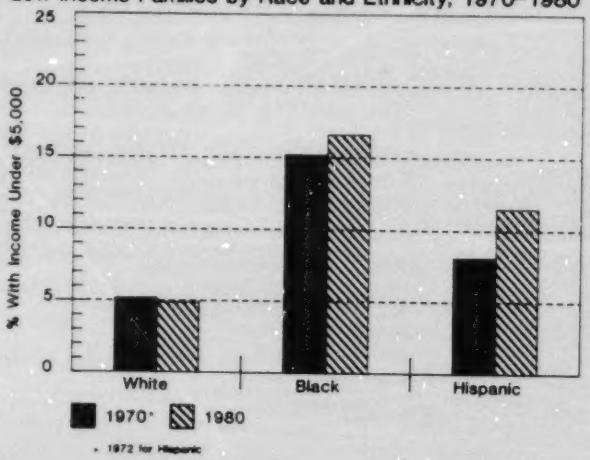
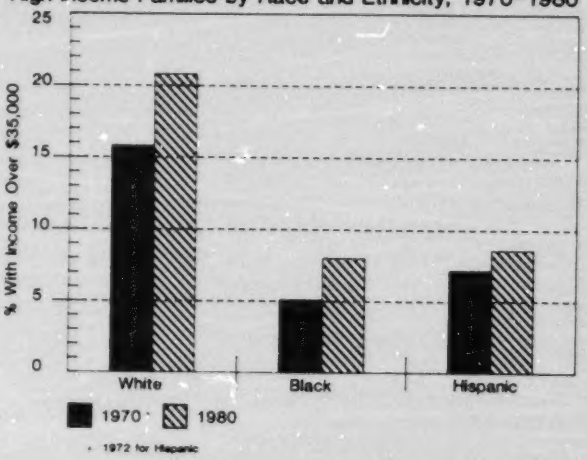


CHART II–2.

High Income Families by Race and Ethnicity, 1970–1980



other equal employment opportunity programs in the 'seventies may have been effective for those minority families who had the kinds of training and skills that enabled them to obtain jobs that brought in higher incomes. On the other hand, the lower side of the income scale is evidence that these affirmative action programs had not been able to do much for the untrained and unskilled, who lost ground.

Personal Income by Sex

Female pay always has been consistently lower than male pay, regardless of race or ethnicity. The pay of all female workers, including full-time and part-time, was only 39 percent of the pay of all male workers in 1980. (See Table II-4.) This was an improvement over the figures in previous years; in 1970 it was 34 percent, and in 1960, 31 percent. It is likely, however, that even such small gains in recent years can be ascribed more to increases in the number of women working full-time than to progress in relative pay levels.

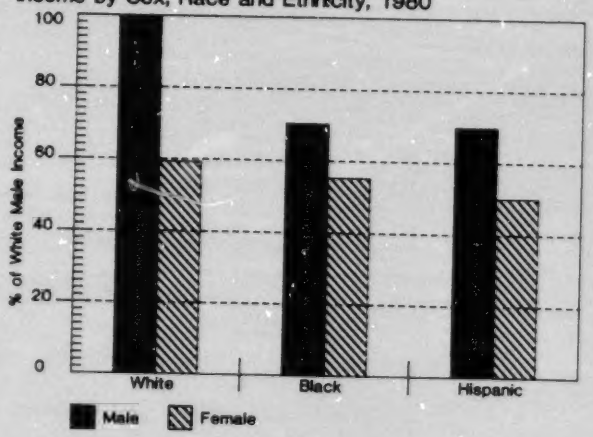
When only full-time, year-round workers were considered, female income was comparatively higher, but still only 60 percent of male income. Remarkably, this ratio has remained virtually unchanged over the course of two decades. The constancy of this 60 percent relationship is a reflection of continued job segregation by sex, and of the fact that jobs in which women predominate pay less than jobs held predominantly by males. There was some indication in the recent statistics of income by occupation and by education that some changes in this pattern have taken place over the past decade. Women have not only entered the labor market in greater numbers, but also in higher paid jobs. However, the aggregate income figures did not reflect such changes until two years past the end of the decade. In 1982, the ratio increased to 63 percent.[5]

Personal Income by Race, Ethnicity, and Sex

Two facts stand out clearly in an examination of the personal income statistics by race, ethnicity, and sex. One is that incomes of black and Hispanic males averaged substantially less than those of white males. The other is that the incomes of women were considerably less than those of men, regardless of race or ethnicity. (See Table II-5 and Chart II-3.)

CHART II–3.

Income by Sex, Race and Ethnicity, 1980



In 1980, the earnings of black and Hispanic male full-time workers were about 70 percent of white

male workers. Comparison of white and black figures for 1970 shows a small gain for black workers over the decade. (Similar Hispanic data were not published in 1970.) In 1980, female earnings as a ratio of white male earnings were 59 percent for white females, 55 percent for black females, and 50 percent for Hispanic females. There was little change in the situation of white females from 1970 to 1980, but there was a substantial increase in the black female average, moving it closer to that of white females.

Income by Family Status

Five types of family status are represented in Table II-6. White males in all five categories had the highest incomes. White females in all five categories had the highest incomes among females, although the differences from minority females were not great. Married males, regardless of race, had higher incomes than males in any other category. Among white women, single persons had the highest incomes. Among divorced persons, the incomes of black males were closest to those of white males. Among black and Hispanic women, divorced persons had the highest incomes.

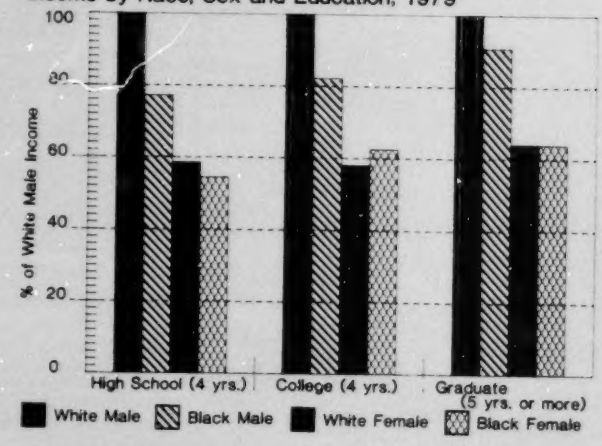
Income by Age and Education

The median income of men rose substantially with age, but that was not true of women past the 25-35 age group. (See Table II-7.) In 1970, the earnings of women declined with age, considerably in the case of black women. By 1979, the drop in white female income with age was very slight, and the decrease in income of black women with age had been considerably reduced. The income of men, regardless of race, was higher than that of women at all ages. The increase of male income with age was substantially greater in 1979 than nine years earlier. Significantly, the increase in incomes of black males in the younger age groups, 25-34 and 35-44, kept pace with the rate of white male increase, possibly indicating benefits to younger black males of equal employment opportunity programs.

Education at any level was effective in increasing incomes, regardless of race or sex. However, at all levels of education, men earned far greater incomes than did women. (See Table II-8 and Chart II-4.) For black males, any education above the high school graduate level seemed advantageous in narrowing the income gap with white males. Moreover, the black-white male income gap at each education level was narrower than for the workforce as a whole. This

CHART II-4.

Income by Race, Sex and Education, 1979



indicates that some part of the difference between the races in the pay of men is due to differences in education, and further predicts greater relative earnings potentials for black men with increasing education. Similar observations seem to pertain to black women, but *only* in comparison to white women. The black-white female gap appeared to be totally bridged with higher education.

The female-male income gap continued wide at all levels of education. For white females, it remained in the range of 58 percent to 61 percent of male income at all education levels but "five years or more" of college (i.e., graduate or professional school), where it rose, but only to 64 percent. Comparable education information by race was not available for 1970, but there are 1970 and 1979 statistics to compare the incomes of all women and all men ages 25 and over for different levels of education. These data showed no significant change in nine years in the ratio of median income of women to men regardless of educational level. (See Table II-9.)

Combining age and education, Table II-10 presents the education breakdown by sex for two age groups, 25-34 and 45-54. It shows that median income was higher in the older age bracket for both men and women at every education level. Yet, male income increased at a greater rate with both age and education than female income, and the female-to-male ratio was lower in the older age bracket at every education level. Table II-10 also compares incomes at age 45-54 as percentages of incomes at age 25-34. Male income increased with age from a minimum of 25 percent at lower levels of education to around 50 percent for men with a college degree or more. In contrast, the pay of women who were not college graduates rose minimally with age, only three to five

percent, and neither college nor graduate training produced as much as 25 percent higher income with age. Clearly, regardless of education, men benefited in income more than women as they grew older.

Income by Region

The income of white male workers in 1970 ranged from 9.5 percent below the nationwide median in the South to 7.6 percent above the median in the West. (See Table II-11.) In 1979, the range was somewhat narrower because the South had moved nearer the national median, to 6.5 percent below it. Among males, the 1980 ratio of black-to-white incomes was by far the lowest in the South, 68 percent, as against 79 to 85 percent in other regions. This contributed much to the national black-white difference, because the South accounted for about one-half of the black male labor force. The southern black-white differential, however, was somewhat narrowed in the period since 1970, when it was only 61 percent.

Similarly, incomes of black females were considerably lower in the South than elsewhere, despite a significant increase from 1970 to 1979. In the other three regions, black female incomes increased to the point where they were about the same as those of white females in 1979. Thus, the black-to-white female differential nationwide was accounted for entirely by the South.

For white female incomes, there was virtually no difference in regional percentages.

Income by Industry and Occupation

Although the median income of white male workers in 1979 was about the same in government as in nonagricultural private industry, the incomes of minorities and women were considerably higher in government. (See Table II-12.) Government paid black males 18 percent more, and Hispanic males 13 percent more, than private industry. It paid white females 21 percent more, black females 19 percent more, and Hispanic females 28 percent more than private industry. This is not a recent development; data for a decade earlier showed a similar pattern.

Several reasons accounted for this disparity. The particular geographical concentrations of government employment and differences in the types of occupations, such as a greater proportion of white-collar workers, probably accounted in part for these income differences. Another reason was greater opportunity for minorities and women in formerly predominantly white male jobs. A third was relatively higher pay for jobs in which white males do not predominate. A fourth reason was the role of merit systems in reducing the influence of market factors traditionally favoring white males.

Similar influences appeared to be operating within and between occupations. On March 7, 1982, the Bureau of Labor Statistics released data comparing 1981 full-time weekly earnings of men and women by occupation.[6] A list of the 20 highest paid occupations of men showed weekly earnings ranging from $507 to $619. A comparable list for women showed earnings ranging from $318 to $422. Many of these occupations, such as engineers and airline pilots, were overwhelmingly male. Others, such as registered nurses and librarians, were predominantly female. However, even where occupations were common to the 20 highest rankings of both sexes, men were paid considerably more than women. In such occupations, female earnings ranged from 65.5 percent of male earnings for health administrators to 82.0 percent for operations and systems researchers and analysts.

Table II-13 compares median weekly earnings for 10 major occupational categories. The ratio of female-to-male earnings was relatively high, 71.8 percent, in the high-paid professional and technical group, and in a number of the lower paid groups. The ratio was lowest among sales workers, 52.0 percent, and managers and administrators, 60.8 percent. In the clerical category, which was over three-fourths female, the ratio was 67.9 percent. The Bureau of Labor Statistics concluded that women's earnings were relatively greater in public sector occupations such as education, public administration officials and administrators, school administrators, and postal clerks.[7]

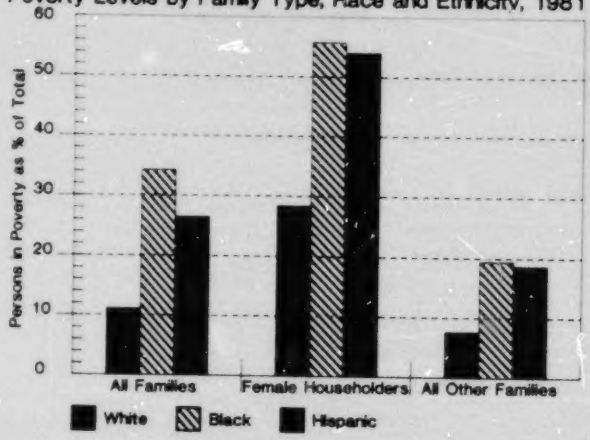
Poverty Related to Race, Ethnicity, and Type of Family

From 1959 to 1970, despite increasing population, the number of persons below the poverty line decreased by more than one-third, and the poverty rate (percentage of the population below the poverty line) dropped from 22.4 to 12.6.[8] (See Table II-14 and Chart II-5.)

However, during this period, a significant change had occurred in the characteristics of the poverty classes. The proportion of those persons who were in poverty families with a "female householder with no husband present" rose sharply from 25 percent to 39 percent in the case of whites, and from 29 percent to 56 percent in the case of blacks. Also, the poverty rate among blacks remained very high. In 1970, it

CHART II-5.

Poverty Levels by Family Type, Race and Ethnicity, 1981



was 59 percent among black female-householder families, and 22 percent among all other black families.

The 1970s witnessed virtually no net change in the numbers of persons in poverty; there was a small decline for whites and a small increase for blacks. But the proportion of persons in poverty who were in families with female householders continued to increase substantially, particularly among blacks. By 1979, such persons accounted for 44 percent of all whites in poverty families, and 69 percent of all blacks in poverty families. Statistics for 1981 also are included in Table II-14 to illustrate changes occurring during the subsequent recession. All the poverty numbers and rates had increased, regardless of race, ethnicity, or type of family.

It is noteworthy that the substantial proportion of black persons remaining in poverty for more than two decades was mainly associated with the growing proportion of black female householder families. The data indicate that less than one-fourth of all black persons were in such families in 1959. The number had increased to close to one-third in 1970, and over 40 percent in 1980. The combined facts that the income of black females tended to be considerably less than black male income, and that female householder families usually had fewer wage earners, largely accounted for the continuing high poverty rate among blacks.

In the case of Hispanics, the poverty rates both of persons in female householder families, and in other families, were comparable to the rates for blacks. However, there were far fewer Hispanics in female-householder families, making the total poverty rate for all Hispanics markedly lower than that of blacks.

A general conclusion from these observations is that many blacks and Hispanics continued to improve their income status during the 1970s. On the basis of statistics which are presented in the rest of this study, we infer that much of the improvement was due to the opening up of jobs and opportunitites by means of affirmative action programs for minorities. However, to the extent that affirmative action has been effective, it has tended to aid those who have had the education, training, and skills which enabled them to take advantage of it. Equal employment opportunity is not an anti-poverty program and must not be confused with such.

While the income data for women show little improvement in the course of the decade, employment figures, as we shall see, tell quite another story. Women have been entering the labor market in much larger numbers and increasingly in higher-paid occupations than in the past. Consequently, we should expect the female ratios to start to move upward, as indeed is indicated by preliminary data for 1982.

Table II-1. Unemployment Rates, 1960 and 1970-1981, by Race and Ethnicity, for all Workers and Youths (Age 16-19), and Ratios to White Unemployment Rates.

Year	Total Labor Force						Youths, Age 16-19					
	Unemployment Rate (%)				Ratio to White		Unemployment Rate (%)				Ratio to White	
	All	White	Black	Hispanic	Black	Hispanic	All	White	Black	Hispanic	Black	Hispanic
1960	5.5	4.9	10.2	N/A	2.1	N/A	14.7	13.4	24.4	N/A	1.8	N/A
1970	4.9	4.5	8.2	N/A	1.8	N/A	15.3	13.5	29.1	N/A	2.2	N/A
1971	5.9	5.4	9.9	N/A	1.8	N/A	16.9	15.1	31.7	N/A	2.1	N/A
1972	5.6	5.0	10.0	N/A	2.0	N/A	16.2	14.2	33.5	N/A	2.4	N/A
1973	4.9	4.3	9.3	7.5	2.2	1.7	14.5	12.6	31.4	19.8	2.5	1.6
1974	5.6	5.0	10.4	8.1	2.1	1.6	16.0	14.0	34.9	19.8	2.5	1.4
1975	8.5	7.8	14.7	12.2	1.9	1.6	19.9	17.9	39.4	27 7	2.2	1.5
1976	7.7	7.0	13.8	11.5	2.0	1.6	19.0	16.9	39.3	23.1	2.3	1.4
1977	7.0	6.2	13.9	10.1	2.2	1.6	17.7	15.4	41.1	22.8	2.7	1.5
1978	6.0	5.2	12.6	9.1	2.4	1.8	16.3	13.9	38.6	20.6	2.8	1.5
1979	5.8	5.1	12.2	8.3	2.4	1.6	16.1	13.9	36.5	19.1	2.6	1.4
1980	7.1	6.3	14.3	10.1	2.3	1.6	17.8	15.5	38.5	22.5	2.5	1.5
1981	7.6	6.7	15.6	10.4	2.3	1.6	19.6	17.3	41.4	24.0	2.4	1.4

N/A Not available.

Source: U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Table II-2. Annual Median Income of White, Black, and Hispanic Families, 1960 and 1970-1981.

Year	Annual Median Income [1]			Ratio to White	
	White Families	Black Families	Hispanic Families [2]	Black	Hispanic [2]
1960	$ 5,835	$ 3,230 [3]	$ N/A	.55 [3]	N/A
1970	10,236	6,279	N/A	.61	N/A
1971	10,672	6,440	N/A	.60	N/A
1972	11,549	6,864	8,183	.59	.71
1973	12,595	7,269	8,715	.58	.69
1974	13,408	8,006	9,540	.60	.71
1975	14,268	8,779	9,551	.62	.67
1976	15,537	9,242	10,259	.59	.66
1977	16,740	9,563	11,421	.57	.68
1978	18,368	10,879	12,566	.59	.68
1979	20,502	11,644	14,569	.57	.71
1980	21,904	12,674	14,716	.58	.67
1981	23,517	13,266	16,401	.56	.70

1/ In current dollars of the year cited.
2/ Hispanics may be of any race.
3/ The only data for 1960 are for "black and other races."
N/A Not available.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 134, Money Income and Poverty Status of Families and Persons in the United States: 1981 (Advance Data From the March 1982 Current Population Survey), U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1982, p. 9.

Table II-3. Percent Distribution of White, Black, and Hispanic Families by Annual Income: 1960, 1970, 1972, 1980. (In 1980 dollars)

Family Annual Earnings	White				Black				Hispanic [1]	
	1980	1972	1970	1960	1980	1972	1970	1960 [2]	1980	1972
Number of Families (millions)	52.7	48.5	46.5	41.1	6.3	5.3	4.9	4.3	3.2	2.4
Percent Distribution All Families	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under $5,000	4.9	4.4	5.2	9.6	16.6	14.2	15.2	28.8	11.5	8.1
$ 5,000 to 9,999	11.3	10.4	10.7	15.0	23.8	23.2	21.3	26.7	20.8	19.4
10,000 to 14,999	13.9	12.9	13.0	20.2	16.8	18.0	19.5	19.5	18.8	18.5
15,000 to 19,999	14.1	18.5	20.0	23.8	12.8	15.6	17.1	13.2	14.9	20.7
20,000 to 24,999	14.2	11.0	11.6	11.1	10.2	8.2	8.5	5.2	11.3	10.4
25,000 to 34,999	20.8	24.5	23.8	20.3	11.8	14.1	13.4	6.7	14.2	15.7
35,000 and over	20.8	18.4	15.8		8.0	6.6	5.1		8.6	7.2
Median Income (dollars)	21,904	22,748	21,722	16,235	12,674	13,520	13,325	8,987	14,716	16,118

1/ Regardless of race.
2/ For 1960, statistics for blacks cover "black and other races."

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 127, Money Income and Poverty Status of Families and Persons in the United States: 1980 (Advance Data From the March 1981 Current Population Survey), U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1981, p. 14.

Table II-4. Annual Median Income of Males and Females, 1960 and 1970-1981, for All Workers and Year-Round Full-Time Workers.

Year	All Workers			Year-Round, Full-Time Workers		
	Income [1]		Ratio: Female to Male	Income [1]		Ratio: Female to Male
	Male	Female		Male	Female	
1960	$ 4,080	$ 1,261	.31	$ 5,435	$ 3,296	.61
1970	6,670	2,237	.34	9,184	5,440	.59
1971	6,903	2,408	.35	9,631	5,701	.59
1972	7,450	2,599	.35	10,538	6,053	.57
1973	8,056	2,796	.35	11,468	6,488	.57
1974	8,452	3,086	.37	12,162	7,174	.59
1975	8,853	3,385	.38	12,934	7,719	.60
1976	9,426	3,576	.38	13,859	8,312	.60
1977	10,123	3,941	.39	15,070	8,814	.58
1978	10,935	4,068	.37	16,062	9,641	.60
1979	11,845	4,355	.37	17,514	10,550	.60
1980	12,530	4,920	.39	19,172	11,590	.60
1981	13,473	5,438	.40	20,692	12,457	.60

1/ In current dollars of the year cited.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 134, Money Income and Poverty Status of Families and Persons in the United States: 1981 (Advance Data From the March 1982 Current Population Survey), U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1982, p. 16.

Table II-5. Median Annual Personal Income of Year-Round, Full-Time Workers by Race, Ethnicity, and Sex, 1970 and 1980. (In current dollars)

	Income			
	Dollars		% of White Male	
	1980	1970	1980	1970
Male:				
White	19,720	9,447	100.0	100.0
Black	13,875	6,435	70.4	68.1
Hispanic	13,790	N/A	69.9	N/A
Female:				
White	11,703	5,536	59.3	58.6
Black	10,915	4,536	55.3	48.0
Hispanic	9,887	N/A	50.1	N/A

N/A. Not available

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 127, Money Income and Poverty Status of Families and Persons in the United States: 1980 (Advance Data From the March 1981 Current Population Survey), U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1981, pp. 19-20; and Series P-60, No. 80, Income in 1970 of Families and Persons in the United States, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1971, pp. 100-101.

Table II-6. Median Annual Income of Year-Round, Full-Time Workers, Age 25-64, by Marital Status, Sex, Race, and Ethnicity, 1979.

	Income (dollars)					
	Male			Female		
Marital Status	White	Black	Hispanic	White	Black	Hispanic
Total	19,271	13,991	14,250	11,194	10,085	9,274
Single	15,264	11,156	11,186	12,344	10,024	9,411
Married: Spouse Present	19,987	15,116	14,946	10,675	10,263	8,684
Spouse Absent	17,130	11,561	12,128	11,278	9,656	*
Widowed	18,001	*	*	11,682	8,788	*
Divorced	17,666	15,098	*	11,939	10,789	10,891
	As % of White Male Income					
Total	100.0	72.6	73.9	58.1	52.3	48.1
Single	100.0	72.1	73.3	80.9	65.7	61.7
Married: Spouse Present	100.0	75.6	74.8	53.4	51.3	43.4
Spouse Absent	100.0	67.5	70.8	65.8	56.4	*
Widowed	100.0	*	*	64.9	48.8	*
Divorced	100.0	85.5	*	67.6	61.1	61.6

* Not published because of inadequate sample.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 129, Money Income of Families and Persons in the United States: 1979, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1981, pp. 200, 202, 204.

Table II-7. Median Annual Income of Year-Round, Full-Time Workers by Age Group, Sex, and Race, 1970 and 1979. (In current dollars)

Age Group	1979				1970			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black
	Income (dollars)							
Total	18,011	13,071	10,638	9,788	9,447	6,435	5,536	4,536
20-24 years	11,694	9,181	8,568	8,557	6,844	5,285	4,961	4,633
25-34 "	17,077	13,357	11,277	10,169	9,339	6,744	6,021	5,240
35-44 "	20,479	15,610	11,290	10,618	10,708	6,947	5,619	4,843
45-54 "	21,040	13,655	11,042	9,711	10,307	6,950	5,720	4,084
55-64 "	19,987	13,256	10,031	8,711	9,318	6,270	5,599	3,384
	As % of White Male Income							
Total	100.0	72.6	59.1	54.3	100.0	68.1	58.6	48.0
20-24 years	100.0	78.5	73.3	73.2	100.0	77.7	72.5	67.7
25-34 "	100.0	78.2	66.0	59.5	100.0	72.2	64.5	56.1
35-44 "	100.0	76.2	55.1	51.8	100.0	64.9	52.5	45.2
45-54 "	100.0	64.9	52.5	46.2	100.0	67.4	55.5	39.6
55-64 "	100.0	66.3	55.2	43.6	100.0	67.3	60.0	36.3
	Income Index: Age 25-34 = 100							
Total	105	98	94	96	101	95	92	87
20-24 years	68	69	76	84	73	78	82	88
25-34 "	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
35-44 "	120	117	100	104	115	103	93	92
45-54 "	123	102	98	95	110	103	95	78
55-64 "	117	99	98	86	100	93	93	65

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 129, Money Income of Families and Persons in the United States: 1979, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1981, pp. 206-209; and Series P-60, No. 80, Income in 1970 of Families and Persons in the United States, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1971, pp. 95-96.

Table II-8. Median Annual Income of Year-Round, Full-Time Workers, Age 18 and Over, by Sex, Race, and Years of Education, 1979.

Years of Education	Income (dollars)				% of White Male Income			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black
Total	18,033	13,080	10,647	9,795	100.0	72.5	59.0	54.3
Elementary : 8 years or less	12,409	10,178	7,602	7,313	100.0	82.0	61.3	58.9
High School: 1-3 years	14,784	11,271	8,543	7,923	100.0	76.2	57.8	53.6
4 years	17,051	13,155	9,996	9,297	100.0	77.2	58.6	54.5
College : 1-3 years	18,607	15,568	11,181	11,417	100.0	83.7	60.1	61.4
4 years	22,131	18,185	12,847	13,822	100.0	82.2	58.0	62.5
5 years or more	25,834	23,467	16,553	16,534	100.0	90.8	64.1	64.0

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 129, Money Income of Families and Persons in the United States: 1979, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1981, pp. 214, 219.

Table II-9. Median Annual Income of Year-Round, Full-Time Workers, Age 25 and Over, by Sex and Years of Education, 1970 and 1979. (In current dollars)

Years of Education	1979 Income (dollars) Male	1979 Income (dollars) Female	1979 Female as % of Male	1970 Income (dollars) Male	1970 Income (dollars) Female	1970 Female as % of Male
Total	18,711	11,071	59.2	9,521	5,616	59.0
Elementary : 8 years or less	12,370	7,613	61.5	6,794	4,005	58.9
High School: 1-3 years	15,198	8,555	56.3	8,514	4,655	53.6
4 years	18,100	10,513	58.1	9,567	5,580	58.3
College : 1-3 years	19,367	11,584	59.8	11,183	6,604	59.1
4 years	24,406	13,441	55.1	13,264	8,156	61.5
5 years or more	25,860	16,693	64.6	14,747	9,581	65.0

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 129, Money Income of Families and Persons in the United States: 1979, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1981, pp. 211, 216; and Series P-60, No. 80, Income in 1970 of Families and Persons in the United States, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1971, pp. 102, 106.

Table II-10. Median Annual Income of Year-Round, Full-Time Workers, Ages 25-34 and 45-54, by Years of Education and Sex, 1979.

Years of Education	Age 25-34 Income (dollars) Male	Age 25-34 Income (dollars) Female	Age 25-34 Female as % of Male	Age 45-54 Income (dollars) Male	Age 45-54 Income (dollars) Female	Age 45-54 Female as % of Male	Age 45-54 as % of Age 25-34 Male	Age 45-54 as % of Age 25-34 Female
Total	16,798	11,151	66.4	20,464	10,937	53.4	121.8	98.1
Elementary : 8 years or less	10,530	7,378	70.1	13,934	7,742	55.6	132.3	104.9
High School: 1-3 years	13,118	8,310	63.3	16,472	8,754	53.1	125.6	105.3
4 years	16,081	10,201	63.4	20,182	10,670	52.9	125.5	104.6
College : 1-3 years	17,045	11,485	67.4	21,598	11,809	54.9	126.7	103.3
4 years	18,225	12,688	69.6	28,789	14,210	49.4	158.0	120.0
5 years or more	20,408	15,046	73.7	29,884	18,629	62.3	146.4	123.8

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 129, Money Income of Families and Persons in the United States: 1979, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1981, pp. 211, 212, 216, 217.

Table II-11. Median Annual Income of Year-Round, Full-Time Workers, by Region, Sex, Race, and Ethnicity, 1970 and 1979. (In current dollars)

Region	Income of White Males (dollars)	% of White Male Income				
		Male		Female		
		Black	Hispanic	White	Black	Hispanic
		1979				
Total	18,011	72.6	71.9	59.1	54.3	48.4
Northeast	18,522	80.3	73.0	59.2	59.8	49.6
North Central	18,336	84.5	79.4	58.3	60.0	44.5
West	19,420	79.2	71.6	59.0	58.4	48.5
South	16,844	68.4	71.0	58.7	50.3	47.4
		1970				
Total	9,447	68.1	N/A	58.6	48.0	N/A
Northeast	9,709	76.5	N/A	59.7	56.8	N/A
North Central	9,576	82.1	N/A	57.4	50.7	N/A
West	10,165	86.1	N/A	61.0	54.1	N/A
South	8,547	60.6	N/A	57.4	43.1	N/A

N/A Not available.

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 129, Money Income of Families and Persons in the United States: 1979, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1981, pp. 184-190; and Series P-60, No. 80, Income in 1970 of Families and Persons in the United States, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1971, pp. 100-101.

Table II-12. Median Annual Income of Year-Round, Full-Time Wage and Salary Workers in Private Non-Agricultural Industry and Government*, by Sex, Race, and Ethnicity, 1979.

	Income (dollars)			% of White Male Income	
	Private Industry	Government*	Government as % of Private	Private Industry	Government*
Male : White	17,963	17,639	98.2	100.0	100.0
Black	12,553	14,790	117.8	69.9	83.8
Hispanic	12,868	14,525	112.9	71.6	82.3
Female: White	9,849	11,877	120.6	54.8	67.3
Black	8,713	11,290	119.1	48.5	64.0
Hispanic	8,211	10,578	128.8	45.7	60.0

* Federal, state, and local government.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 129, Money Income of Families and Persons in the United States: 1979, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1981, pp. 266, 269.

Table II-13. Median Weekly Earnings of Full-Time Workers by Sex and Major Occupation, 1981.

Major Occupation	Median Weekly Earnings			Occupational Range		% Female Employment
	Male (dollars)	Female (dollars)	Female as % of Male	Male (dollars)	Female (dollars)	
Total	347	224	64.7	--	--	39.5
Professional and technical	433	316	73.0	285-619	186-422	42.8
Managers and administrators, exc. farm	466	283	60.8	388-566	216-363	28.4
Sales	366	190	52.0	229-589	154-306	33.0
Clerical	328	220	67.0	180-460	166-382	78.4
Crafts	360	239	66.5	264-455	*	5.6
Operatives, exc. transport	298	187	62.9	181-413	147-219	38.8
Transport equipment operatives	307	237	77.2	246-331	*	4.9
Nonfarm laborers	244	193	79.3	189-308	*	10.4
Farm workers	180	146	81.1	*	*	12.1
Service, exc. private household	230	170	73.3	136-368	140-227	50.3
Private household	*	104	*	*	*	94.6

* No figures, or fewer than 3 occupations represented.

Source: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Release, USDL 82-86, March 7, 1982.

Table II-14. Persons Below the Poverty Level [1] by Type of Family, Race, and Ethnicity: 1959, 1970, 1979, and 1981.

	All persons below poverty level [1]				Persons in families with female householder, no husband present [2]				Persons in all other families [3]			
	1981	1979	1970	1959	1981	1979	1970	1959	1981	1979	1970	1959
Number of persons (thousands)												
All	31,822	25,345	25,420	39,490	15,738	13,130	11,154	10,390	16,080	12,214	14,266	29,100
White	21,553	16,823	17,484	28,484	9,347	7,467	6,832	7,115	12,206	9,356	10,653	21,369
Black	9,173	7,838	7,548	9,927	6,081	5,424	4,213	2,906	3,092	2,414	3,334	7,021
Hispanic	3,713	2,863	N/A	N/A	1,682	1,202	N/A	N/A	2,031	1,661	N/A	N/A
Poverty rate (percent)												
All	14.0	11.6	12.6	22.4	35.2	31.9	38.2	50.2	8.8	6.9	8.2	18.7
White	11.1	8.9	9.9	18.1	28.4	24.8	31.4	43.8	7.6	5.9	6.8	15.2
Black	34.2	30.9	33.5	55.1	55.8	52.2	58.8	70.0	19.4	16.1	21.7	50.7
Hispanic	26.5	21.6	N/A	N/A	54.0	48 8	N/A	N/A	18.6	15.4	N/A	N/A
Percent of all persons below poverty												
All	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	49.5	51.8	43.9	26.3	50.5	48.2	56.1	73.7
White	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	43.4	44.4	39.1	25.0	56.6	55.6	60.9	75.0
Black	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	66.3	69.2	55.8	29.3	33.7	30.8	44.2	70.7
Hispanic	100.0	100.0	N/A	N/A	45.3	42.0	N/A	N/A	54.7	58.0	N/A	N/A

N/A Not availabie.

1/ As defined by the Federal government, the poverty threshold for a nonfarm family of four was $9,287 in 1981. It is based solely on money income and does not reflect noncash benefits.

2/ Includes persons in families with female householder and female unrelated individuals.

3/ Includes persons in families with male householder and male unrelated individuals.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 134, Money Income and Poverty Status of Families and Persons in the United States: 1981 (Advance Data From the March 1982 Current Population Survey), U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1982, pp. 22-24.

References

1. *Affirmative Action: The Unrealized Goal*, The Potomac Institute, Washington, D.C., 1973, p. 30. Figures for "black and other" races were used because of unavailability of data covering only blacks before the mid-1960s. The differences are small, blacks representing the predominant statistical component, with the other races including American Indians and Asians.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 29. These figures represented "real income," based upon 1971 dollars.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

4. The 1960 figure is for black and other races. The ratio covering blacks only has been estimated at 52 percent in that year.

5. See U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, P-60, No. 140, *Money Income and Poverty Status of Families and Persons in the United States: 1982*, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1983, p. 18.

6. U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Release USDL 82-86, March 7, 1982.

7. *Ibid.*

8. "*Poverty definition.* Families and unrelated individuals are classified as being above or below the poverty level using the poverty index originated at the Social Security Administration in 1964 and revised by Federal Interagency Committees in 1969 and 1980. The poverty index is based solely on money income and does not reflect the fact that many low-income persons receive noncash benefits such as food stamps, Medicaid, and public housing. The index is based on the Department of Agriculture's 1961 economy food plan and reflects the different consumption requirements of families based on their size and composition. It was determined from the Department of Agriculture's 1955 survey of food consumption that families of three or more persons spend approximately one-third of their income on food; the poverty level for these families was, therefore, set at three times the cost of the economy food plan. For smaller families and persons living alone, the cost of the economy food plan was multiplied by factors that were slightly higher in order to compensate for the relatively larger fixed expenses of these smaller households. The poverty thresholds are updated every year to reflect changes in the Consumer Price Index (CPI). The average poverty threshold for a family of four was $9,287 in 1981." Thresholds ranged from $4,620 for an "unrelated individual" to $18,572 for a family of nine persons or more in 1981. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 134, *Money Income and Poverty Status in the United States: 1981 (Advance Data from the March 1982 Current Population Survey)*, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1982, pp. 30-31.

CHAPTER III

FEDERAL CONTRACTOR EMPLOYMENT: Business and Industry

In its earlier study, the Potomac Institute found that equal employment opportunity (EEO) programs covering federal government contractors and subcontractors under Executive Order 11246 and its predecessors had had minimal success. Statistics indicated that employment of blacks in industries with high proportions of government contractors was worse than in other industries. Analysis of nine industries with proportionately large employment of blacks showed blacks concentrated in the lower-skill, lower-paid occupations. Progress had been very slight in the four-year period 1967-1971. Estimates of the time required at the then current rates of advancement to achieve black parity with whites in many industries extended into the last decade of this century, or into the next century. The obvious conclusion was that more forceful and effective compliance actions on the part of government agencies was essential.

This analysis uses statistics derived from the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission's (EEOC) Employer Information Report EEO-1. In 1980, EEO-1 reports were filed by employers for a total of 173,000 establishments and 34 million employees in the United States. The EEO-1 statistics covered 46 percent of the total private, nonagricultural employment in the United States, as reported by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. However, these data represent a much more substantial proportion of total employment in manufacturing (74 percent), and in the transportation, communication, and utilities industries (69 percent), which together have about two-thirds of the workers employed by government contractors. Finance, insurance and real estate have one-half of their workers represented in the EEO-1. Trade and services have much lower representation, less than one-third, and the construction industry (13 percent) is virtually unrepresented. Construction is analyzed in Chapter IV through union and apprenticeship data.

EEO-1 reports are filed annually by each employer with 100 or more employees, and separately for each establishment of a multi-establishment employer with 25 or more employees. The form shows employment statistics, by sex, for four minority groups and nine occupational categories. While the occupational categories are not strictly hierarchical and frequently encompass wide and overlapping spans of skills, they can be used as an approximate measure of occupational progress.

General Employment Patterns, 1970-1980

Minorities and Women (See Chart III-1.)—All four minority groups studied increased their total participation in private employment in the decade of the 1970s, as shown by EEO-1 statistics. (See Table III-1.) In the case of Hispanics and Asians, the increase was substantial, undoubtedly reflecting the population growth of these two groups during the decade. All minority groups increased their participation rates in each of the five white-collar job categories (with the sole exception of American Indians as sales workers), and in two of the blue-collar categories: craft workers and operatives. (Chart III-2 shows percentages in each job for all minorities combined.)

Women considerably increased their total workforce participation, the female participation rate rising from 34.4 percent in 1970 to 41.0 percent in 1980. There were increases in participation rates in all nine job categories, considerably in the top four white-collar groupings: officials and managers, professionals, technicians, and sales workers. (See Chart III-3.)

The job indexes for whites, blacks, Hispanics, and all women are shown in Table III-2.* In 1970, the indexes of black workers in laborer and service jobs (216 and 260) were well in excess of 100, their representation in the workforce as a whole. In contrast, they had only one-fifth (19) their workforce representation in jobs as officials and managers, and one-fourth (25) as professionals. By 1980, the figures

*The "job index" is a new measure which compares the participation rate of any race/ethnic/sex group, e.g., all females, black females, Hispanic males, in a particular job category with its participation in all jobs combined. As an illustration, women, as shown in Table III-1, accounted for 26.4 percent of all employment in 1970 in the category, "technicians." Their total participation in all jobs was 34.4 percent. Dividing 26.4 percent by 34.4 percent, and multiplying the result by 100 (rounded to the nearest integer), gives a job index of 77 for female technicians. (See Table III-2). The analogous figures for 1980, 40.2 percent and 41.0 percent, respectively, result in a job index of 98 for female technicians in that year.

CHART III-1.

Employment in Industry by Sex and Race, 1970 and 1980

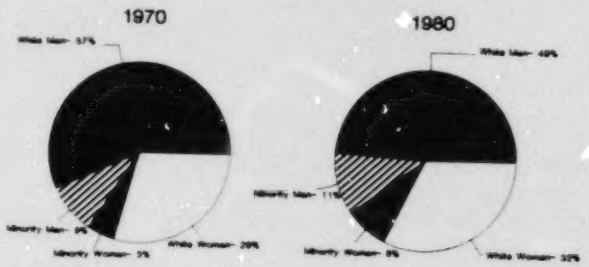
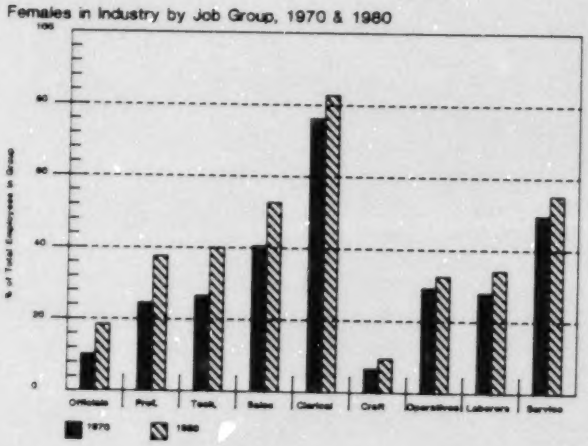


CHART III-2.

Minorities in Industry by Job Group, 1970 & 1980

CHART III-3.

Females in Industry by Job Group, 1970 & 1980



showed some significant changes. The degree of black over-representation in the two lowest paying jobs, though still high, had been much reduced (to 167 and 193, respectively). The large black under-representation in the highest paying jobs had similarly been reduced, the job index rising to 34 for officials and managers and 37 for professionals. In one category, office and clerical, which generally does not have extensive educational requirements, and where blacks traditionally have been greatly underemployed, they moved from a job index of 71 in 1970 to 97 in 1980, almost reaching their level of workforce participation, and approaching the 101 index for whites.

For Hispanics, the statistics show a similar pattern of index changes, though varying considerably by job category. Starting from a relatively higher base than blacks in five job categories, four of which are among the higher paid jobs, the changes in their job indexes were relatively moderate. However, these all reflected substantial increases in actual participation rates, since the total Hispanic participation rate, on which the job index is based, increased by one-half over the decade, from 3.6 percent to 5.4 percent. Hispanics maintained much higher indexes than blacks in two blue-collar categories: craft workers and laborers. The craft disparity is the apparent result of lesser historical discrimination against Hispanics in the skilled trades, as we observe in our next chapter on the construction industry. The high representation of Hispanics in laborer jobs probably reflects a continued expansion in the low-skilled, immigrant sector of the Hispanic workforce.

Very pronounced changes took place in the levels and patterns of female employment. In 1980, women reached job indexes in the 90s in professional and technician jobs (91 and 98, respectively), up from 72 and 77 ten years earlier. Thus, while expanding their total workforce participation by about one-fifth, women achieved much higher proportionate increases in employment in these highly qualified, higher paid jobs. Although the EEO-1 does not survey pay, other information indicates that there are large differentials between the pay of men and women within job categories. (See Table II-13.) However, these statistics indicate important changes in female employment that probably will show up within a few years in income figures as well, especially since statistics on education show a very sizable increase of females in professional studies in the past few years. (See Chapter VI.)

The 1980 female job index for officials and managers, while considerably lower at 45 than the indexes for professionals and technicians, represented an increase of one-half over 1970, when it was 30. The increase in the actual participation rate was even greater, rising from 10.2 percent in 1970 to 18.5 percent in 1980. In the blue-collar field, women increased their participation in all categories, but their job index rose only in the skilled crafts.

Males by Race and Ethnicity—In 1970, males, regardless of race, were employed predominantly in blue-collar jobs: craftsmen, operatives, and laborers. Larger proportions of blacks and Hispanics were in such jobs than whites. This difference was even greater when only the two lower skilled job categories are considered.

Occupational Distribution (%)

	All Blue-Collar		Operatives & Laborers	
	1970	1980	1970	1980
White Men	51.3	48.2	31.1	28.3
Black Men	72.3	64.9	61.9	50.5
Hispanic Men	70.3	65.2	55.6	48.4

This table shows that there was movement in the 'seventies toward less concentration in blue-collar work among all males; slight movement in the case of whites, and much greater movement for blacks and Hispanics. Moreover, blacks, who had been more concentrated in the lower skilled, blue-collar jobs than Hispanics, tended to reduce that difference.

Concurrently, there was an increase of males—white, black, and Hispanic—in the top four white-collar jobs: officials and managers, professionals, technicians, and sales workers. Again the change was slight for whites and greater for blacks and Hispanics. Still, the two minority groups had far to go by 1980 to match the white occupational distribution in these categories; 15.2 percent of all black males and 17.4 percent of all Hispanic males, compared with 41.9 percent of all white males, occupied such jobs.

Examination of participation rates in Table III-3 reveals that, as a whole, Hispanic males had a substantial increase in particpation rates, black males

CHART III-4.

Job Index by Sex and Race - Officials and Managers, 1970 & 1980

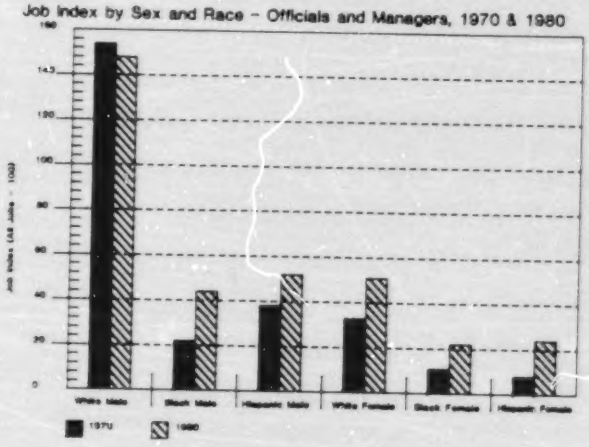


CHART III-5.

Job Index by Sex and Race - Professionals, 1970 & 1980

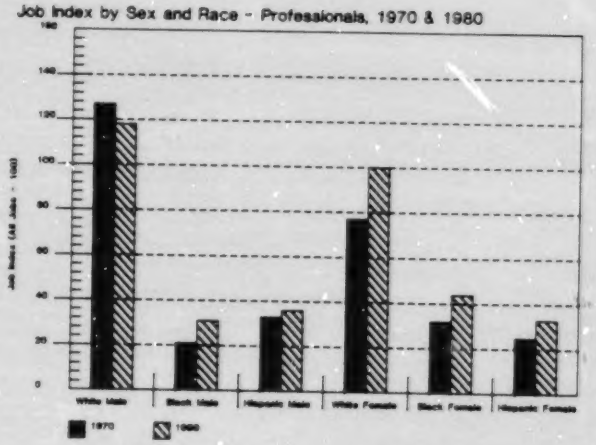


CHART III-6.

Job Index by Sex and Race - Technicians, 1970 & 1980

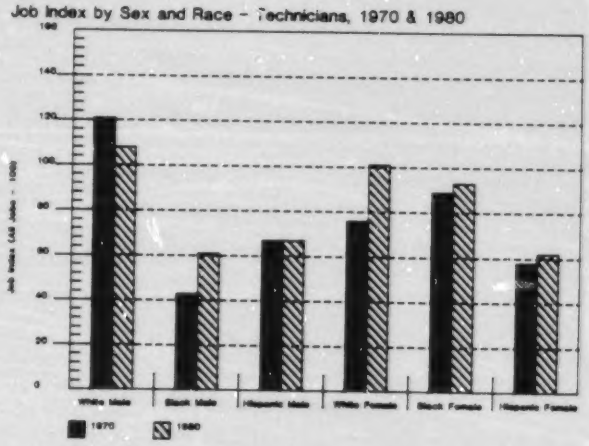


CHART III-7.

Job Index by Sex and Race - Craft Workers, 1970 & 1980

had a small decrease, and white males a large decrease. Hispanic increases occurred in all jobs; blacks, in six of the nine categories. There was virtually no change in the participation rate of black operatives, and a decline of laborers and service workers. In the job indexes of black males, there were marked increases in all the white-collar and skilled craft jobs. For craft workers, the index rose from 76 to 116. For the first time, black men were represented in the crafts in numbers above their participation in the labor force as a whole. The other increases were moderate, but, starting from a very low base in 1970, they reflected a strong upward trend. Hispanic males continued to make clearcut occupational progress as officials and managers, sales workers, and craft workers. Their position in the skilled crafts improved to the point that it reached a job index of 136, more than one-third higher than their total participation. (Charts III-4 through III-7 show changes in job indexes for four of the nine job categories.)

Females by Race and Ethnicity—The occupational distributions of women showed substantial increases in the top four white-collar jobs for whites, blacks, and Hispanics. In clerical jobs, there was a sharp drop of white women, but not of minority women.

Occupation Distribution (%)

	Top Four Jobs		Clerical Jobs	
	1970	1980	1970	1980
White Women	23.6	33.0	40.2	33.3
Black Women	12.6	18.9	25.3	26.4
Hispanic Women	12.4	17.9	26.3	26.7

Total participation rates increased for white, black, and Hispanic women, reflecting the greater numbers employed. It is significant that the participation rate of white female clerical workers remained almost identical in 1970 and 1980 (68.3 percent and 68.5 percent, respectively), as did that of white female semi-skilled operatives (23.7 percent and 23.8 percent). (See Table III-3.) Thus, while the participation rates of black and Hispanic females in the lower skilled white-collar and blue-collar jobs rose considerably over the decade, it was not at the expense of white females. Instead, what has been occurring is an expansion of white female representation into various traditionally male jobs, at the expense of white males. Close to three-fourths of increased white female employment was in the top four jobs, and over one-half in the top three jobs: officials and managers, professionals, and technicians. At the same time, white women maintained their representation in traditional female jobs, even expanding it in the case of service workers.

The job indexes are particularly revealing. In managerial jobs, the index for white women rose from 33 in 1970 to 51 in 1980, over one-half their rate of workforce participation. For professionals and technicians, the job indexes at 100 and 101, respectively, had reached the levels of their total participation in the labor force, rising from 77 and 76 in 1970. As previously indicated, minority women continued their progress in clerical jobs, and also made substantial gains in other white-collar jobs. Black females actually outgained black males with higher participation rates and higher job indexes in professional, technical, and sales jobs. Women also increased their participation rates in blue-collar jobs, and white and black women had moderate rises in their job indexes for craft jobs.

Employment Patterns, Government Contractors, 1974-1980

The OFCCP report

The OFCCP conducted a matched-establishment analysis of over 77,000 identical establishments for which employers filed EEO-1 reports in both 1974 and 1980.[1] These establishments employed a total of 20.8 million workers in 1980. The study was carried out under the direction of Griffin Crump, an assistant to the director of the OFCCP. It was not released by the Labor Department until June 1984 although it had been completed the previous year and discussed in the press.

The OFCCP compared establishments of federal government contractors (approximately 49,000 establishments with employment of 14 million) with those of noncontractors (about 28,100 establishments with employment of 6.3 million). It further separated the contractor establishments into those which had experienced compliance reviews by the government (5,000 establishments with 3.9 million employees) and the remainder which had not been reviewed (44,000 establishments with 10.1 million employees).

The OFCCP study combines all four minority groups, regardless of sex, into one set of figures for minorities. In its analysis of female employment, it combines all statistics on females, regardless of race and ethnicity.

a. *Contractors Compared with Noncontractors*

As shown in Table III-4, in 1974 noncontractors employed somewhat higher proportions of minorities than contractors in six of the nine job categories: officials and managers, professionals, technicians, sales workers, craft workers, and laborers. These figures were a reflection of the persistent and chronic

failures of government contractor programs from World War II until the adoption of affirmative action requirements in Revised Order No. 4. Subsequently, through affirmative action, the stubborn employment patterns began to change. Table III-4 reveals substantially greater improvements in employment of minorities in the 1974 to 1980 period among contractors than among noncontractors. Contractors had almost caught up with noncontractors in minorities employed as officials and managers, and surpassed noncontractors in five other job categories: professionals, sales workers, office and clerical workers, operatives, and service workers.

The changes in participation rates were dramatic. In all but one job category, contractors had greater increases than noncontractors. For officials and managers, it was 57 percent against 32 percent; for professionals, 57 percent against 11 percent; for technicians, 45 percent against 6 percent; for sales workers, 56 percent against 21 percent. The contractor and noncontractor figures, respectively, for office and clerical workers were 37 percent and 27 percent; and for craft workers, 38 percent and 24 percent.

Female-intensive industries, such as health services, have been predominant in noncontractor establishments. Consequently, noncontractors had higher female representation in all job categories in 1980 as well as 1974. Nevertheless, the growth of female employment among contractors substantially exceeded noncontractors in the six-year period, in all job categories. As a whole, the female participation rate of contractors went up 15 percent, while the rate of noncontractors rose 2 percent. The respective increases in female employment among contractors and noncontractors by job category were as follows: officials and managers—47 percent and 18 percent; professionals—50 percent and 10 percent; technicians—48 percent and 7 percent; sales workers—16 percent and 2 percent; office and clerical workers—5 percent and 3 percent; craft workers—66 percent and 3 percent; operatives—15 percent increase for contractors and a 10 percent decrease for noncontractors; laborers—9 percent and 6 percent; and service workers—11 percent and zero.

b. *Reviewed Contractors Compared with Unreviewed*

Since establishments selected for compliance reviews were generally chosen with payoff in terms of numbers of jobs as a major criterion, reviewed establishments tended to be larger than unreviewed establishments. They also seem to have been more concentrated in industries with heavier employment of blue-collar workers. The overall employment figures for minorities was about the same in both groups in 1974 and 1980. However, by job category, minorities in the reviewed group had higher representation in blue-collar jobs and lesser representation in white-collar jobs. (See Table III-5.)

Both reviewed and unreviewed contractors had substantially greater increases in minority participation rates than noncontractors. Moreover, in reviewed establishments, minority increases were somewhat greater in eight of the nine job categories than in unreviewed establishments.

Women in reviewed establishments, also had higher participation rates in blue-collar jobs and lower rates in white-collar jobs than women in unreviewed establishments. But the percent increase in female representation over the six-year period was considerably greater in the reviewed group in each of the four nonclerical white-collar jobs. As with minorities, women in both reviewed and unreviewed establishments had greater increases in all job categories than women in noncontractor establishments.

The Leonard report

In a study partially funded by the Labor Department and submitted to the department in July 1983, Jonathan Leonard of the National Bureau of Economic Research and the University of California at Berkeley performed a comprehensive regression analysis of the data base used in the OFCCP study.[2] He included in his study the reports of establishment-level affirmative action compliance reviews written between 1973 and 1981 by compliance agencies of the government. He added other types of information, tested several hypotheses, and reached the following conclusions:

> " (1) Black male employment share increased relatively more in contractor establishments under the affirmative action obligation than in non-contractor establishments between 1974 and 1980 . . . This holds true . . . controlling for establishment size, growth industry, region, occupational structure, corporate structure, and past employment share. This appears to reflect changed establishment behavior, rather than the selection into contractor status of establishments with high or growing black male employment share.
>
> " (2) This positive employment impact has been relatively greater in the more highly skilled occupations, and has resulted in net occupational upgrading for black males.
>
> " (3) Compliance reviews have been an effective tool in promoting the employment of blacks.
>
> " (4) The impact of affirmative action on non-black minorities and on white females has been mixed . . . .
>
> " (5) Females and black males at a sample of reviewed establishments had a lower share of terminations relative to hires than other workers. The employment gains engendered by affirmative action do not seem to be transient.
>
> " (6) Economic growth is among the best policies for bringing minorities and females into the workforce. Minority and female employment shares increase fastest at growing establishments which can more easily accommodate the

pressures of affirmative action . . . .

"(7) Class action litigation under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 has played a significant role in increasing black employment, and has had a relatively greater impact than affirmative action.

"(8) The relative productivity of females and minority males has not significantly declined as their employment share has increased . . . .

"(9) Black employment share grew faster in the union sector than in the non-union sector . . . .

"(10) Distance from the ghetto is among the strongest determinants of the racial composition of the workforce. . . . Racial segregation in housing limits the potential of affirmative action to integrate the workplace. . . .

"(11) The compliance review process, as part of the antidiscrimination effort, could be improved by targetting with greater frequency the establishments with the lowest proportion of minorities and females . . . .

"(12) While the projections of minority and female employment given by establishments under affirmative action are inflated, they are significant. Establishments that set higher goals subsequently achieve more."

"The policy of affirmative action has had a short and turbulent history in this country. Of all the social programs that grew during the sixties, it has perhaps enjoyed the least measure of consensus. Its bureaucratic organization and body of regulations have undergone change at frequent intervals since its inception. While the targetting of enforcement could be improved, and while the impact of affirmative action on other groups is unclear, the evidence in this study is that affirmative action and Title VII have been successful in prompting the integration of blacks into the American workplace."

Employment Patterns by Industry, 1970-1979

Government contractors and noncontractors are concentrated in different industries. The industries with greatest contractor employment are manufacturing and a combination of transportation, communications, and public utilities (hereinafter referred to as "transportation"). In 1979, government contractors employed 80 percent of the total employment in manufacturing, as reported in EEO-1, and 83 percent in "transportation."

Table III-6 presents the percent increases in participation rates from 1970 to 1979 for blacks, Hispanics, and females for three industry groupings: manufacturing, "transportation," and "other." In comparing the two heavily concentrated government contractor industry groups with "other," a residual of all remaining surveyed industries, it will be noted that generally the participation rate increases were greater in the government contractor industries, particularly in the white-collar jobs. The following is a summary of separate observations for blacks, Hispanics, and females:

Blacks—Manufacturing showed a greater total increase in participation rates, and in seven of the nine job categories, over "other" industries. These jobs included all five white-collar categories, craft workers, and operatives. Although participation rates decreased for laborers and service workers, there were greater decreases in those jobs in the "other" industries. "Transportation" similarly shows a greater total increase over "other," and in five job categories: officials and managers, professionals, technicians, craft workers, and operatives.

Hispanics—Manufacturing showed a greater total increase over "other" industries, and also in seven job categories: all five white-collar jobs, craft workers, and service workers. Increases in "transportation" exceeded "other" industries in five job categories: officials and managers, professionals, technicians, office and clerical, and operatives.

Females—The comparisons seem somewhat ambiguous in that the total participation rate increases were less for both manufacturing and "transportation" than for "other," and yet the increases in seven of the nine categories were higher for the two industries than "other." In manufacturing, these seven jobs categories included all five white-collar jobs, plus operatives and service workers. In "transportation," the seven categories of increased participation rates included professionals, technicians, sales workers, the three blue-collar categories, and service workers.

This summary of participation rate changes indicates that the manufacturing and "transportation" industries, both predominantly government contractor industries, increased the representation of minorities and women from 1970 to 1979 at a greater rate than the aggregation of other industries reported on the EEO-1.

Table III-1. Participation Rates of Minorities and Women in Private Industry, by Job Category, 1970 and 1980.

Job Category	All Employees (000's)		Participation Rates (% of all employees)											
			All Women		Minorities (both sexes)									
					All		Black		Hispanic		Asian		American Indian	
	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970
Total	34,076	30,830	41.0	34.4	18.9	14.6	11.6	10.1	5.4	3.6	1.5	0.6	0.4	0.3
Officials and Managers	3,743	2,803	18.5	10.2	7.4	3.4	4.0	1.9	2.2	1.0	1.0	0.3	0.4	0.2
Professionals	3,242	2,551	37.2	24.6	10.0	5.6	4.3	2.5	1.9	1.1	3.5	1.9	0.3	0.1
Technicians	1,845	1,347	40.2	26.4	15.1	9.7	8.7	6.2	3.5	2.2	2.4	1.1	0.4	0.2
Sales Workers	3,041	2,632	52.7	40.6	12.2	7.2	7.1	4.3	3.8	2.1	1.0	0.4	0.3	0.4
Office and Clerical Workers	5,386	5,278	82.8	76.3	17.9	10.7	11.2	7.2	4.6	2.6	1.7	0.7	0.4	0.2
Craft Workers	4,229	4,132	9.6	6.8	14.9	9.2	8.4	5.6	5.2	3.0	0.8	0.3	0.5	0.3
Operatives	6,868	7,178	32.9	29.4	25.0	19.4	16.2	14.1	7.1	4.6	1.2	0.3	0.5	0.4
Laborers	2,669	2,778	34.2	28.0	33.3	31.3	19.4	21.8	12.2	8.5	1.2	0.4	0.6	0.6
Service Workers	3,052	2,132	55.1	49.6	32.6	33.4	22.4	26.3	7.9	5.9	1.8	0.8	0.5	0.4

Source: Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, EEOC 1980 Report: Job Patterns for Minorities and Women in Private Industry, 1980, Vol. I, Washington, D.C., 1982; and Equal Employment Opportunity Report, 1970: Job Patterns for Minorities and Women in Private Industry, Washington, D.C., 1972.

Table III-2. Job Indexes for Whites, Blacks, Hispanics, and Women in Private Industry, 1970 and 1980.

Job Category	Job Indexes (All Job categories = 100)							
	Both Sexes						All Women	
	White		Black		Hispanic			
	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970
All Job Categories	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Officials and Managers	114	113	34	19	41	28	45	30
Professionals	111	111	37	25	35	31	31	72
Technicians	105	106	75	61	65	61	98	77
Sales Workers	108	109	61	43	70	58	129	118
Office and Clerical Workers	101	105	97	71	85	72	202	222
Craft Workers	105	106	72	55	96	83	23	20
Operatives	92	94	140	140	131	128	80	85
Laborers	82	80	167	216	226	236	83	81
Service Workers	83	78	193	260	146	164	134	144

Source: Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, EEOC 1980 Report: Job Patterns for Minorities and Women in Private Industry, 1980, Vol. I, Washington, D.C., 1982; and Equal Employment Opportunity Report, 1970: Job Patterns for Minorities and Women in Private Industry, Washington, D.C., 1972.

Table III-3. Participation Rates and Job Indexes of Minority Groups by Sex in Private Industry, 1970 and 1980.

	Male								Female							
	White		Minority						White		Minority					
			All 1/		Black		Hispanic				All 1/		Black		Hispanic	
	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970
Participation Rate (%):																
Total	48.5	56.4	10.5	9.2	6.1	6.3	3.3	3.4	32.5	29.1	8.5	9.2	5.4	5.8	2.1	1.2
Officials and Managers	71.6	87.1	5.4	2.7	2.7	1.4	1.7	0.9	16.5	9.5	2.0	0.6	1.2	0.4	0.5	0.1
Professionals	57.4	71.8	5.4	3.6	1.9	1.3	1.2	0.8	32.6	22.5	4.6	2.1	2.4	1.2	0.7	0.3
Technicians	52.2	68.4	7.6	5.2	3.7	2.7	2.2	1.6	32.7	22.0	7.5	4.5	5.0	3.4	1.3	0.7
Sales Workers	42.3	55.7	5.1	3.7	2.7	2.3	1.8	1.1	45.6	37.2	7.1	3.4	4.4	2.1	2.1	0.9
Office and Clerical Workers	13.6	21.1	3.6	2.6	2.0	1.6	1.0	0.8	68.5	68.1	14.3	8.0	9.2	5.5	3.6	1.8
Craft Workers	77.8	85.2	12.6	8.0	7.1	4.9	4.5	2.6	7.3	5.6	2.3	1.2	1.3	0.7	0.7	0.4
Operatives	51.3	56.6	15.8	13.8	10.3	10.2	4.6	3.2	23.7	23.8	9.1	5.6	5.9	3.9	2.5	1.4
Laborers	41.8	48.1	22.3	19.8	12.9	16.9	8.4	6.3	23.2	20.6	11.0	7.5	6.5	4.9	3.8	2.3
Service Workers	29.0	32.5	15.9	17.9	10.1	13.4	4.7	3.8	38.9	34.2	16.8	15.4	12.4	12.9	3.2	2.1
Job Index (Total = 100):																
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Officials and Managers	148	154	51	29	44	22	52	38	51	33	24	11	22	11	24	8
Professionals	118	127	51	39	31	21	36	33	100	77	54	42	44	32	33	25
Technicians	108	121	72	57	61	43	67	67	101	76	88	85	93	89	62	58
Sales Workers	87	99	49	40	44	35	55	46	140	128	84	64	81	55	100	75
Office and Clerical Workers	28	37	34	28	33	25	30	33	211	235	168	151	170	145	171	150
Craft Workers	160	151	120	87	116	78	136	108	22	19	27	23	24	18	33	33
Operatives	106	101	150	150	169	162	139	133	73	82	108	106	109	103	119	117
Laborers	90	85	212	214	211	268	255	263	71	71	129	142	120	129	181	192
Service Workers	60	58	151	195	166	213	142	158	118	118	198	291	230	339	152	175

1/ Includes also Asians and American Indians, not shown separately.

Sources: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, EEO-1 1980 Report: Job Patterns for Minorities and Women in Private Industry, 1980, Vol. I, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1982; and Equal Employment Opportunity Report, 1970: Job Patterns for Minorities and Women in Private Industry, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1972.

Table III-4. Minority and Female Employees as Percent of All Employees of Federal Government Contractors and Noncontractors, by Job Category, 1974 and 1980.

Job Category	Contractors			Noncontractors		
	% of All Employees		% Change	% of [illegible]mployees		% Change
	1980	1974	1980/1974	1980	1974	1980/1974
	Minority Employees					
Total	18.4	15.4	19	19.3	17.2	12
Officials and Managers	7.2	4.6	57	7.5	5.7	32
Professionals	9.9	6.3	57	9.1	8.2	11
Technicians	14.6	10.1	45	15.3	14.4	6
Sales Workers	13.4	8.6	56	11.6	9.6	21
Office and Clerical Workers	19.2	14.0	37	15.5	12.2	27
Craft Workers	14.4	10.4	38	15.7	12.8	24
Operatives	24.8	21.5	15	24.2	21.3	14
Laborers	31.5	29.0	9	35.0	31.9	10
Service Workers	34.7	31.8	9	32.8	30.6	7
	Female Employees					
Total	35.4	30.7	15	51.7	50.6	2
Officials and Managers	14.7	10.0	47	26.2	22.2	18
Professionals	26.6	17.7	50	65.9	64.0	10
Technicians	31.8	21.5	48	66.5	62.0	7
Sales Workers	49.8	43.0	16	54.6	53.5	2
Office and Clerical Workers	81.0	77.4	5	86.1	84.0	3
Craft Workers	6.8	4.1	66	15.2	14.7	3
Operatives	30.7	26.5	16	35.7	39.5	-10
Laborers	32.8	30.1	9	34.4	32.6	6
Service Workers	46.6	41.9	11	64.1	64.0	0

Source: Charts developed by the Office of Federal Contract Compliance.

Table III-5. Minority and Female Employees as Percent of All Employees of Reviewed and Unreviewed Federal Government Contractors, by Job Category, 1974 and 1980.

Job Category	Reviewed			Unreviewed		
	% of All Employees		% Change	% of All Employees		% Change
	1980	1974	1980/1974	1980	1974	1980/1974
	Minority Employees					
Total	18.4	15.1	22	18.4	15.4	19
Officials and Managers	6.6	3.9	69	7.4	4.8	54
Professionals	9.3	5.6	66	10.2	6.7	52
Technicians	13.2	8.5	55	15.4	11.0	40
Sales Workers	8.8	5.8	52	13.8	9.0	53
Office and Clerical Workers	17.1	11.7	46	19.8	14.7	35
Craft Workers	15.2	10.4	46	14.1	10.3	37
Operatives	27.6	23.0	20	23.1	20.7	12
Laborers	32.8	29.5	11	31.2	28.8	8
Service Workers	28.9	25.7	12	35.6	32.9	8
	Female Employees					
Total	31.8	27.8	14	36.6	31.9	15
Officials and Managers	9.8	5.0	96	17.1	11.9	44
Professionals	15.5	8.1	91	32.9	23.4	41
Technicians	22.4	13.5	66	36.7	25.8	43
Sales Workers	27.4	19.3	42	51.6	45.0	15
Office and Clerical Workers	78.8	73.6	7	81.7	78.5	4
Craft Workers	8.4	6.0	40	6.2	3.4	82
Operatives	40.4	35.6	13	25.1	21.1	19
Laborers	36.9	35.0	5	31.7	28.6	8
Service Workers	25.6	16.6	54	49.8	46.2	8

Source: Charts developed by the Office of Federal Contract Compliance.

Table III-6. Percent Increase in Participation Rates of Blacks, Hispanics, and Females in Manufacturing, Transportation, 1/ and All Other Industries, 1979 over 1970.

Job Category	Percent Increase or Decrease (-) in Participation Rates, 1979 over 1970								
	Blacks			Hispanics			Females		
	Manufacturing	Transportation 1/	All Other 2/	Manufacturing	Transportation 1/	All Other 2/	Manufacturing	Transportation 1/	All Other 2/
Total	18	21	11	50	46	43	13	11	18
Officials and Managers	154	193	88	113	117	92	155	13	76
Professionals	142	250	42	100	122	54	125	101	43
Technicians	81	152	15	94	89	25	79	243	31
Sales Workers	100	55	57	110	79	100	108	33	26
Office and Clerical Workers	76	42	46	88	91	55	13	3	6
Craft Workers	54	63	17	63	57	75	8	580	64
Operatives	19	26	-1	48	46	42	10	224	-4
Laborers	-4	-23	-19	37	-1	34	20	128	21
Service Workers	-14	-16	-17	59	21	21	36	34	2

1/ Includes transportation, communication, and public utility industries.

2/ Includes all industries reported in EEO-1 excluding manufacturing and transportation, communication, and public utilities.

Source: Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, EEOC 1979 Report: Minorities and Women in Private Industry, Vol. 1, Washington, D.C., 1981; and Equal Employment Opportunity Report, 1970: Job Patterns for Minorities and Women in Private Industry, Vol. 1, Washington, D.C., 1972.

Table III-7. Occupational Distribution of All Employees, Males, and Females in Manufacturing, Transportation 1/, and All Other Industries, 1979.

Job Category	Occupational Distribution (%)								
	All Employees			Male Employees			Female Employees		
	Manufacturing	Transportation 1/	All Other 2/	Manufacturing	Transportation 1/	All Other 2/	Manufacturing	Transportation 1/	All Other 2/
Officials and Managers	10.2	11.3	11.8	13.5	12.9	18.1	2.6	6.8	6.1
Professionals	7.0	8.1	10.9	8.7	8.8	11.0	3.3	6.3	10.5
Technicians	4.4	4.0	6.2	5.1	4.1	5.9	2.8	3.7	6.5
Sales Workers	3.0	3.8	16.5	3.4	2.8	14.2	2.1	6.6	17.8
Office and Clerical Workers	9.3	22.2	20.8	2.9	7.8	6.1	23.7	62.0	33.9
Craft Workers	16.7	22.8	5.7	21.7	30.1	11.1	5.4	2.9	0.9
Operatives	39.7	18.1	6.8	32.3	23.3	11.1	43.5	3.7	2.9
Laborers	11.7	6.3	5.4	10.2	7.8	8.3	15.2	1.9	2.8
Service Workers	1.9	3.5	17.1	2.1	2.5	14.2	1.5	6.0	18.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

1/ Includes transportation, communication, and public utility industries.

2/ Includes all industries reported in EEO-1 excluding manufacturing and transportation, communication, and public utilities.

Source: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, EEOC 1979 Report: Minorities and Women in Private Industry, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1981.

References

1. Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs, *Employment Patterns of Minorities and Women in Federal Contractor and Noncontractor Establishments, 1974-1980*, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C., released 1984.

2. Jonathan S. Leonard, *The Impact of Affirmative Action*, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C., released 1984.

CHAPTER IV

FEDERAL CONTRACTOR EMPLOYMENT: Construction

The construction industry is of primary importance to minorities, particularly blacks, for several reasons. Unlike most white-collar jobs, the educational requirements to perform construction work are limited. Compared with other industries, the wages are relatively high. Journeymen jobs frequently are a route to higher paid supervisory jobs. The work, performed for the most part in the open, is highly visible. Lastly, much of the work is financed in one way or another by the federal government. Yet, minorities frequently were excluded from this work, even when they were qualified to perform it, because of discriminatory practices of the organized sector of the industry. This sector is largely the domain of referral unions that usually decide which workers are referred to jobs. Discrimination had the further effect of discouraging minority youth from even seeking to become qualified for construction jobs.

The previous Potomac Institute study described the development of federal equal employment opportunity programs in construction up to 1973, and the response of the labor movement in establishing apprenticeship outreach programs with the cooperation of civil rights organizations and the U.S. Department of Labor. The study concluded that these measures had had only limited positive results. It proposed greater use of government-imposed goals and timetables for minority hiring, frequent on-site reviews of construction operations, and monthly statistical reporting by contractors.

The study cited statistics previously published by this writer which dramatically demonstrated the effects of discrimination against blacks in the unionized sector of the construction industry.[1] These data showed that blacks were severely under-represented in the membership of most of the building trades unions. In 1971, blacks accounted for less than four percent of the membership in 11 of the 16 international unions reported. Blacks had been virtually excluded from the high-paid mechanical-trades unions; the average black membership was less than 1.7 percent. Fifty-eight percent of the local unions had no black members at all in 1969, and an additional 28 percent had less than one percent. Significantly, however, the apprenticeship data indicated an increasing acceptance of blacks into the most exclusive (non-black) unions.

Status of Affirmative Action Programs and Data

In Chapter I, the development of affirmative action in the construction industry was described in some detail, including the Philadelphia Plan and similar imposed plans, the voluntary "hometown" plans, apprenticeship regulations, and the voluntary Apprenticeship Outreach Program. The lack of sufficient progress under these plans culminated in a decision by the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs (OFCCP) in 1980 to impose specific statistical goals, based on local civilian labor force figures for minorities, in all areas of the country.

Despite its varied and, at times, intensive efforts to end discrimination in the construction industry over a period of close to two decades, the federal government has been largely frustrated by the complexities of regulating this industry. The companies over which it has some measure of direct influence tend to have small permanent workforces. The great majority of their workers are hired mainly for the duration of specific jobs by referrals through hiring halls and similar systems usually controlled by the unions. The unions also play at least an equal, and frequently a dominant, role in the training of the labor force through joint labor-management apprenticeship committees (JACs).

The OFCCP has been criticized for its limited use of compulsion in construction compliance, with only seven imposed plans having been adopted in the 1970s. The problem with compulsion, however, was its limited effectiveness, because the OFCCP had no direct leverage on the unions. The goals had to be imposed on the employers. They, with varying degrees of honesty, could claim that they had applied "every good faith effort" and were still unable to meet the goals. Hence, the OFCCP placed much greater emphasis on voluntary compliance through the hometown plans

with tripartite sponsorship: the industry, civil rights groups, and government.[2]

Information that could permit a determination as to whether and to what extent the OFCCP program had produced a measurable result is scarce or unanalyzed. Although the OFCCP has required construction contractors to report minority and female utilization on a monthly basis since 1976, these reports have never been summarized and no statistics are available from them. The only data available have been derived from surveys of membership in referral unions and of apprentices. Local Union Report EEO-3 provides membership data for referral unions with 100 or more members. Until 1979, Apprenticeship Information Report EEO-2 provided information from JACs with five or more apprentices and at least one employer and one union sponsor who met the coverage requirements of Title VII. In addition, the Labor Department's Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training conducted a semi-annual State-National Apprenticeship Reporting System ("SNAPS") survey of apprentices, covering all programs registered by the federal government or by state apprenticeship agencies.

Primary use has been made of the EEO-2 in the analysis of apprenticeship because it provides data on graduates from apprenticeship programs, as well as the number of apprentices. The graduate figures are a telling indication of how extensively the programs have succeeded. Another general source of statistics is the reporting of the annual and cumulative placements of apprentices by the Outreach Program, made public by the Employment and Training Administration of the Department of Labor. Unfortunately, data on apprenticeship will not be available for the years after 1979. In 1982, the Office of Management and Budget, which has the responsibility for approving all forms for public surveys and reports by federal agencies, disapproved both the EEO-2 and the "SNAPS" survey at the request of the construction industry's Associated General Contractors. The grounds stated were that the surveys were a hardship and that their information had not been utilized by the government.

One word of caution should be sounded in dealing with equal employment opportunity in the construction industry. For the better part of three years, the construction industry suffered a deep recession. The most recent data available, for 1979, preceded this decline and thus do not reflect the subsequent status of membership or apprenticeship in the industry.

Apprenticeship in Construction, 1970-1979

Since the principal effort to improve minority representation in the industry purportedly has been through apprenticeship, evaluation of the apprenticeship statistics will show the extent to which this effort actually has been made. Further, a study of union membership will show whether, and to what extent, training has resulted in improved representation in membership.

Minorities—Statistics for the two-year period 1969-1971 showed improvements in black representation in apprenticeship, and first-year apprenticeship statistics for 1971 showed evidence of greater, recent improvements.[3] For example, in the mechanical trades, the proportion of black first-year apprentices was almost double the proportion of black second-year apprentices, which in turn was substantially higher than that of third-year apprentices. The extent and rapidity of change, and the pervasiveness of minority apprenticeship throughout all trades, indicated that something was occurring in the industry even though not yet reflected in union membership figures at the time.

Table IV-1 compares the participation rates of minorities in construction industry apprenticeship programs in 1979 and 1970. The figures show considerable increases in participation of both blacks and Hispanics, notably in the mechanical trades which had exceptionally low minority representation in the earlier year. Black apprenticeship rose from 4.2 percent in 1970 to 9.1 percent in 1979, and Hispanics from 2.6 percent to 5.0 percent. (See Charts IV-1 and IV-2.) Since these gains would prove ephemeral if large numbers of minority apprentices did not complete their training, Table IV-2, which presents statistics on graduates, is of special significance. In 1970, the movement of minorities into apprenticeship programs had resulted in only a trickle reaching graduation in the most discriminatory trades. Only 1.4

CHART IV–1.

Apprentices in Mechanical Trades.

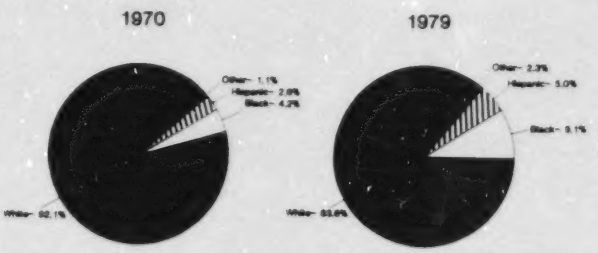
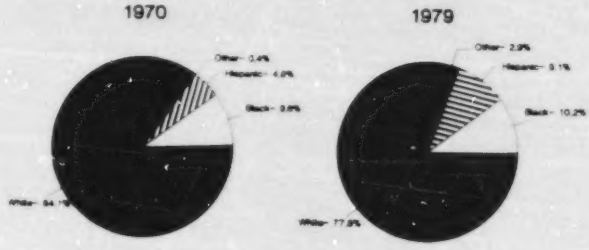


CHART IV–2.
Apprentices in All Other Trades.



percent of all mechanical trades graduates were blacks, and only 1.7 percent were Hispanics. By 1979, blacks accounted for 9.5 percent, and Hispanics 4.3 percent, of the graduates. (See Charts IV-3 and IV-4.) These figures reflected a growing supply of trained minority journeymen within the industry. On the average, blacks were trained at a rate between their total labor force participation and their somewhat lower participation as skilled craft workers in industry in general. Hispanics tended to keep pace in apprenticeships with their rapid labor force growth during the decade.

CHART IV–3.
Graduates of Apprenticeship, Mechanical Trades.

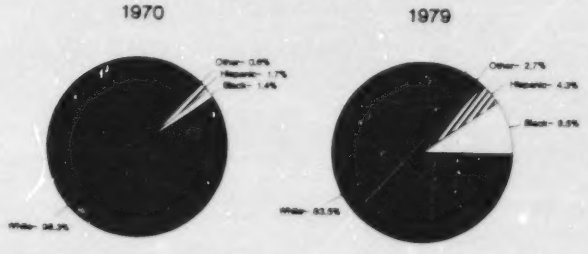
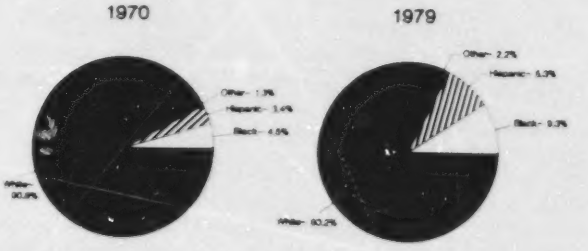


CHART IV–4.
Graduates of Apprenticeship, All Other Trades



Some clue as to the effect on training of the deep decline in work in the years following 1979 can be gained from a study of apprenticeship in New York City during the 1970s, where such a recession in the construction industry had occurred earlier than in the nation as a whole.[4] These New York City figures showed a decline in total construction industry apprentices from 7,615 in 1972 to 2,341 in 1978. The number of graduates declined even more steeply, from a high of 1,910 in 1973, to 1,336 in 1976, to a low of 341 in 1978, the last year of the study. Despite this fall-off in apprenticeship, the proportion of minorities continued to increase steadily, from 19.1 percent in 1972 to 29.5 percent in 1978. The percentage of minority graduates varied from year to year during this period, but the final two years saw the highest proportion of minority graduates.

An analysis of five trades revealed substantial increases in minority apprenticeship in three groups: plumbing and heating; electrical; and sheet metal, iron work, and roofing. There were smaller increases in the carpentry trades. Only in the trowel trades—brick, marble, and cement—which traditionally had higher minority representation, did minority apprenticeship percentages decrease.

A mail survey of 1977 and 1978 New York City apprenticeship graduates showed the comparative amounts of work minorities and nonminorities had in union construction in both years. In 1977, the minority estimates averaged 33.5 weeks, and the nonminorities 38.3 weeks. In 1978, the minority figure was 43.4 weeks, and the nonminority figure was 42.5 weeks. The authors of the survey found no evidence of discrimination against minority apprenticeship graduates.

Women—In 1977, the OFCCP set uniform goals for hours worked by women in all construction trades, nationwide. These goals, the ratio of hours worked by women as a percentage of total hours worked, were 3.1 percent the first year, 5.0 percent the second year, and 6.9 percent the third year.[5] This rule has not been amended and the 6.9 percent goal remains in effect. At the time the rule was issued, there were very few female apprentices in construction. As Table IV-3 reveals, only 2.1 percent of all construction apprentices were women as late as 1978. However, the 1979 statistics show a doubling in one year in the *number* of women in apprenticeship, and an increase to 3.7 percent of the female participation rate, with substantial progress in most trades.

While the 1979 percentages in Table IV-3 are lower than the second-year goal of 5.0 percent in all but three trades, these figures include all classes of apprentices, i.e. new apprentices and those in the programs two, three, or four years. It is evident from the rapid increase between 1978 and 1979 in the total female apprenticeship figures that the percent of women who started apprenticeship in 1979 must have

exceeded the goal. This inference is supported in unpublished data provided by the EEOC covering all JAC programs, combining construction and nonconstruction industries, which show female first-year apprentices increasing from 4.3 percent in 1978 to 6.5 percent in 1979. We conclude that there was a rapid and considerable response by employers and unions to the federal government's requirement of affirmative action with respect to sex equality in the selection of apprentices.

Outreach Programs—The Outreach Program of the Department of Labor maintains updated statistics both of the total numbers of placements in apprenticeships since the inception of the program in the late 1960s and of the numbers of placements during the most recent fiscal year.[6] These statistics are shown by trades but do not distinguish race or ethnicity. However, they have a separate breakdown of the numbers of females placed in fiscal year, October 1979 through September 1980.

The cumulative total of all apprenticeship placements as of the end of September 1980 was 63,432. These placements were made under Outreach Programs sponsored by the National Urban League, the Recruitment and Training Program (sponsored by the Workers Defense League), the Human Resources Development Institute of the AFL-CIO, and some 15 miscellaneous programs with local sponsors.

Table IV-4 shows the cumulative Outreach Program placements in apprenticeships by trade, listed in descending order of the number of total placements. It reveals that the Outreach Programs were active and effective throughout most of the trades, and the numbers of their placements were roughly proportionate to the numbers of minority apprentices in the construction trades.

Although statistics are available for only one-year's placements of women in apprenticeships, these are sufficient to support the conclusion that there has been considerable recent acceptance of women into the apprenticeship programs. Table IV-5 shows that women were over one-fourth of all persons placed in apprenticeships by the Outreach Program in fiscal year 1980.

Referral Union Membership in Construction, 1970-1979

Minorities—In 1970, minorities constituted 6.0 percent of the total membership of mechanical trades unions, and 10.5 percent of all other construction unions except laborers. As Table IV-6 indicates, blacks, with only 1.8 percent of the total membership, were still virtually excluded from the highly skilled, highly paid mechanical trades five years after the 1965 effective date of Title VII. Hispanics, with 3.2 percent, fared better in the mechanical trades. Blacks and Hispanics were equally represnted in the other construction trades, excluding laborers, each with 4.8 percent of the total. In contrast, the laborers union had large minority representation, 42.4 percent, primarily black. At that time, two-thirds of all blacks in all the building trades unions were laborers, as were 44 percent of all Hispanics, contrasted to only one-eighth of all whites.

The union membership figures for 1979 reflected the results of the extensive activity in apprenticeships and other forms of affirmative action in construction over a nine-year period. In the mechanical trades, the proportion of blacks increased to 4.3 percent. Hispanics also improved their representation, but more moderately, to 4.2 percent. In the miscellaneous trades, Hispanics, at 6.8 percent, fared better than blacks, at 5.7 percent. (See Charts IV-5 and IV-6.) In memberships of all unions except laborers, the bottom line of Table IV-6 shows an increase of blacks from 3.4 percent to 5.0 percent in the nine years. Although black representation in the laborers union declined somewhat by 1979, still, more than one-half of the total black membership in the building trades unions were in that union. Hispanic representation in all unions except laborers also increased, from 4.1

CHART IV–5.
Referral Union Membership – Mechanical Trades.

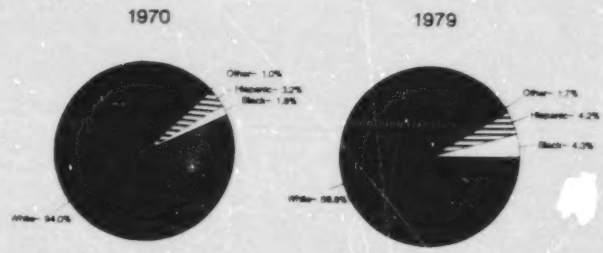
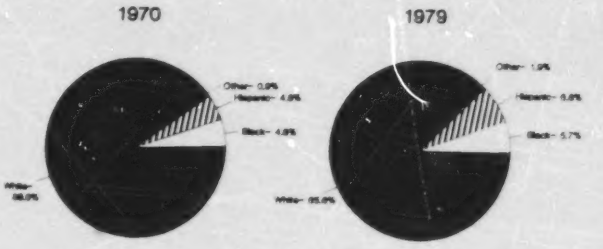


CHART IV–6.
Referral Union Membership – All Other Skilled Trades.



percent to 5.5 percent. There was also a notable increase in the union participation of American Indians, to 1.3 percent, a much higher level than their 0.5 percent of craft workers, and of other blue-collar workers, as shown in the 1979 EEO-1.

Table IV-7 compares the membership participation rates of all minorities, and blacks and Hispanics separately, in skilled building trades unions (all but laborers) with the employment rates of these groups as skilled craft workers in industry generally, and the changes that occurred in the nine years from 1970 to 1979. This comparison is provided by an index based upon the craft worker employment rates (from EEO-1 statistics) in 1970 and 1979: the employment rates are shown as a percentage on line 1, and as the base index of 100 on line 2. The index numbers for union membership were calculated by dividing the union participation rate percentages presented in the preceding Table IV-6 by the appropriate percentage from the first line of Table IV-7, and multiplying by 100. Thus, if the union participation rate were the same as the employment participation rate, that particular index number would be 100; the index figure would vary above or below 100 as the union percentage was more or less than the employment percentage.

In comparing the changes from 1970 to 1979, it is important to note that the "All Minority" industry employment rate rose from 9.2 percent in 1970 to 14.2 percent in 1979, an increase of more than one-half. Black representation rose from 5.6 percent to 8.2 percent, somewhat less than one-half, and Hispanics increased from 3.0 percent to 4.9 percent, almost two-thirds. Since the base index for 1970 and 1979 were each set at 100, an index figure that remained the same for 1970 and 1979 would indicate an increased union rate in proportion to the increased employment rate. For example, the index number under "Blacks" on the last line for "Construction Union Membership: Total (less Laborers)" is 61 for both 1970 and 1979. This indicates that in 1970 blacks were represented in skilled construction trades unions at about three-fifths (61 percent) of their representation in the statistic for skilled craft jobs in industry generally (from which construction is largely omitted). Since the ratio remained the same in 1979, black representation increased both in construction unions membership and in craft employment by the same proportion between 1970 and 1979, just under one-half.

Comparing the mechanical trades with the miscellaneous trades, an opposite and offsetting trend for blacks can be observed. The mechanical trades index of 32 in 1970 reflects the very low black union membership in these trades, only one-third of their skilled employment rate in industry. The index of 52 in 1979, though still little more than one-half the general industry employment level, does show a substantial increase. For the miscellaneous trades, the decline in the index from 86 to 70 indicates that, while black membership in this group of unions increased (Table IV-6), the increase was substantially less than the progress for black craft workers in industry.

For Hispanics, the construction unions, with few exceptions, did not measure up to the almost two-thirds increase in the craft worker employment participation rate in industry from 1970 to 1979. The decline in the building trades total was from 139 in 1970 to 112 in 1979. However, in contrast to blacks, who were under-represented in skilled construction unions in 1970 and continued so in 1979, Hispanics in both years maintained a greater representation in construction unions than in employment in industry. This was not the case in all unions, nor for the total mechanical trades where the index dropped below 100 to 86 in 1979.

The data reveal a mixed pattern of change. On the whole, in those unions where the index for blacks was very low in 1970, indicating a past history of virtual exclusion, there have been substantial increases in black membership, although their actual numbers remained relatively low. Nevertheless, the extent of improvement in the mechanical trades is noteworthy, particularly in view of the stable membership of building trades unions, which have limited turnover. On the other hand, black membership increases in the carpenters, operating engineers, and painters unions were much less impressive. In the case of three unions, the bricklayers, roofers, and laborers, all with substantial black totals in 1970, the figures for 1979 showed an actual decline.

Hispanic membership, which in most construction unions was higher than black membership in 1970, continued to increase during the decade. The increases were less than those of blacks in the mechanical trades, but greater in the miscellaneous trades. While their skilled worker index declined in most trades, Hispanics continued to be represented in construction union membership at high levels relative to their participation in the skilled labor force, and relative to blacks. In 1979, as in 1970, there were a greater number of Hispanic than black members in all construction unions combined when laborers are excluded.

Women—As seen in Table IV-8, only 1.6 percent of total construction union membership in 1979 was

female. Excluding the laborers union, which had a 3.5 percent female membership, the all-union figure declined to 1.2 percent. Nearly two-thirds of the women in construction unions were in only two unions, the laborers and the electrical workers. These unions, together with the carpenters and operating engineers, accounted for 86 percent of the total female membership. In industry in general, as shown by EEO-1 statistics, women were 8.5 percent of craft worker employment in 1979.

In 1970, female membership in construction unions was 0.6 percent of the total. Then, too, the laborers and electrical workers had two-thirds of all female membership. These two unions, together with the carpenters and operating engineers, accounted for 93 percent of the total female membership. In 1970, women had 6.8 percent of craft worker jobs in industry, according to the EEO-1.

Minority females constituted a very substantial proportion of all female members in almost all the unions. Minority women totaled 40 percent of female membership in 1979, in contrast to minority male membership of 17 percent. Over one-half of the female electrical worker members were minority women, compared to only one-tenth of minority male electricians. Table IV-8 shows that white women constituted only 1.1 percent of all construction union white membership, whereas minority women had 3.8 percent of minority membership. Female membership in the electrical workers union was 1.4 percent of whites, as contrasted to 11.9 percent of minorities. Black women had the highest participation rate among minority females in most of the construction trades.

The data are too limited to explain these statistical facts. It seems clear from the apprenticeship outreach statistics that recent increases in minority membership, particularly that of blacks, had brought in a large proportion of women than heretofore. On the other hand, the electrical workers, which had the largest minority female component in 1979, also had a similarly large minority female membership in 1970.[7]

To summarize, we found that in the past blacks had virtually been excluded from most of the construction trades, and women were scarce in all of them. By 1979 the picture had changed considerably. More than one out of six persons graduating from apprenticeship into journeyman status was a minority, and close to one out of ten was a black. This was true of the mechanical trades, in which only one out of seventy graduates as recently as 1970 had been black, as well as the other trades. As a consequence, black membership in referral unions of the mechanical trades gradually increased in the nine-year period from 1.8 percent to 4.3 percent. Blacks increased their representation in other trades also, but to a lesser extent.

However, the unionized sector of the construction industry still had some distance to go toward equitable utilization of blacks in 1979. Apprenticeship figures, while impressive, did not reach overall participation by blacks in the nation's labor force, a figure that would probably be even higher if limited to those mainly urban areas with apprenticeship programs. Black membership in skilled craft unions (excluding laborers) at 5.0 percent was three-fifths of black employment at 8.2 percent in skilled crafts in all industries nationwide. It was also lower than the 7.5 percent of craft workers reported on EEO-1 by large nonunion construction employers in 1979.[8]

In view of the steady progress in black membership made by the construction unions, it is unfortunate that, in the absence of more recent data, our statistical story must end with 1979. The same observation may be made with regard to utilization of women in construction, perhaps more so. Female membership and apprenticeship percentages were still small in 1979, but indicated significant increases over the previous year. There is further indication in the fiscal year 1980 (October 1, 1979 to September 30, 1980) data for the apprenticeship outreach programs showing a female participation of more than one-fourth that women were entering the industry at an accelerated pace.

Table IV-1. Minorities as Percent of Total in Apprenticeship Programs in the Construction Industry by Trade, 1970 and 1979.

Trade	% of Total Apprentices						% Distribution of Apprentices Among Trades-1979
	All Minorities[1/]		Blacks		Hispanics		
	1979	1970	1979	1970	1979	1970	
All Construction Trades	19.3	10.6	9.6	6.0	7.1	3.4	100.0
Mechanical Trades	16.4	7.9	9.1	4.2	5.0	2.6	50.1
Boilermakers	12.2	8.3	6.9	3.8	3.9	3.5	2.4
Electrical Workers	15.3	7.1	8.5	3.8	4.6	2.3	21.5
Iron Workers	17.6	10.8	10.8	5.2	4.4	3.6	6.2
Plumbers-Pipefitters	16.3	7.1	8.6	4.1	5.4	2.3	14.8
Sheetmetal Workers	21.3	10.3	12.2	5.0	7.1	3.7	5.2
Other Construction Trades	22.2	15.9	10.2	9.6	9.1	4.9	49.9
Asbestos Workers	23.6	3.0	12.5	2.1	9.9	0.7	0.9
Bricklayers	23.6	16.4	12.5	12.6	9.3	3.4	2.7
Carpenters	18.2	13.0	7.9	6.8	7.5	4.6	32.7
Cement Masons	52.0	30.4	28.2	28.0	21.2	9.0	1.1
Floor Coverers	24.4	17.3	3.8	6.9	18.5	9.9	0.5
Glaziers	17.3	12.4	7.4	8.0	8.6	3.7	0.4
Lathers	23.3	18.4	6.4	12.4	15.5	6.0	0.5
Operating Engineers	33.9	11.9	16.2	7.4	12.6	3.0	4.1
Painters-Decorators	26.2	24.0	13.2	12.9	10.3	9.8	2.9
Plasterers	31.7	29.2	11.7	21.9	17.5	4.6	0.9
Roofers	29.4	36.3	18.3	28.6	9.1	4.7	2.5
Tile Setters	25.5	16.6	4.8	8.3	16.9	8.3	0.6

1/ Includes black, Hispanic, Asian and American Indian minorities.

Source: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, EEOC 1979 Report: Job Patterns for Minorities and Women in Apprenticeship Programs and Referral Unions, 1979, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1982, pp. 28-37. Statistics for 1970 were obtained from the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

Table IV-2. Minorities as Percent of Total Graduates from Apprenticeship Programs in the Construction Industry, by Trade, 1970 and 1979.

Trade	% of Total Graduates						% Distribution of Graduates Among Trades
	All Minorities 1/		Blacks		Hispanics		
	1979	1970	1979	1970	1979	1970	1979
All Construction Trades	17.9	5.3	9.4	2.3	6.0	2.2	100.0
Mechanical Trades	16.5	3.7	9.5	1.4	4.3	1.7	56.7
Boilermakers	9.5	5.2	5.9	1.3	2.2	2.6	4.2
Electrical Workers	16.5	3.5	9.0	1.7	5.1	1.4	23.8
Iron Workers	14.3	5.5	8.2	1.4	4.1	3.1	6.8
Plumbers-Pipefitters	18.2	2.5	10.8	1.0	3.8	1.4	17.7
Sheetmetal Workers	19.1	5.0	12.9	0.8	4.1	2.4	4.1
Other Construction Trades	19.8	9.2	9.3	4.5	8.3	3.4	43.3
Asbestos Workers	18.3	4.1	9.2	0.0	8.7	2.7	1.6
Bricklayers	16.4	9.6	9.3	7.3	5.8	1.8	3.2
Carpenters	15.8	5.8	7.2	3.0	6.3	2.7	23.5
Cement Masons	38.5	16.0	18.4	12.8	18.4	2.7	1.3
Floor Coverers	17.1	18.6	6.7	2.9	9.5	15.7	0.8
Glaziers	14.1	3.5	4.7	3.5	8.2	0.0	0.6
Lathers	20.5	1.3	2.4	1.3	14.5	0.0	0.6
Operating Engineers	35.2	6.4	18.1	1.6	12.3	3.9	4.0
Painters-Decorators	22.0	14.5	10.7	5.1	10.4	8.3	4.0
Plasterers	21.7	12.5	6.0	6.3	12.7	3.1	1.2
Roofers	24.5	21.4	13.8	14.5	9.2	2.8	1.9
Tile Setters	27.4	11.1	8.3	8.3	16.7	2.8	0.6

1/ Includes black, Hispanic, Asian, and American Indian Minorities.

Source: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, EEOC 1979 Report: Job Patterns for Minorities and Women in Apprenticeship Programs and Referral Unions, 1979, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1982, pp. 28-37. Statistics for 1970 were obtained from the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

Table IV-3. Female as Percent of Total Apprentices in the Construction Industry, by Trade, 1978 and 1979.

Trade	Apprentices					
	1979			1978		
	Total No.	Female No.	Female %	Total No.	Female No.	Female %
All Construction Trades	103,498	3,785	3.7	89,030	1,852	2.1
Mechanical Trades	51,851	1,497	2.9	44,051	607	1.4
Boilermakers	2,501	75	3.0	2,277	21	0.9
Electrical Workers	22,298	712	3.2	18,841	309	1.6
Iron Workers	6,444	119	1.8	5,380	55	1.0
Plumbers-Pipefitters	15,278	468	3.1	13,553	194	1.4
Sheet Metal Workers	5,330	123	2.3	4,000	28	0.7
Other Construction Trades	51,647	2,288	4.4	44,979	1,245	2.8
Asbestos Workers	960	22	2.3	903	12	1.3
Bricklayers	2,806	36	1.3	2,671	17	0.6
Carpenters	33,816	1,412	4.2	31,212	822	2.6
Cement Masons	1,186	87	7.3	1,211	64	5.3
Floor Coverers	558	6	1.0	427	6	1.4
Glaziers	444	2	0.5	347	0	0.0
Lathers	472	3	0.6	419	4	1.0
Operating Engineers	4,251	366	8.6	1,147	59	5.1
Painters-Decorators	2,995	260	8.7	3,215	196	6.1
Plasterers	976	48	4.9	861	40	4.6
Roofers	2,603	23	0.9	2,078	12	0.6
Tile Setters	580	23	4.0	488	13	2.7

Sources: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, EEOC 1979 Report: Job Patterns for Minorities and Women in Apprenticeship Programs and Referral Unions, 1979, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1982, pp. 28-37; and EEOC 1978 Report: Minorities and Women in Apprenticeship Programs and Referral Unions, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1980, pp. 28-37.

Table IV-4. Total Placements in Apprenticeship Outreach Programs from Their Inception to 9/30/80, by Trade, Listed in Order of Number of Placements.

Trade	Placements No.	Placements % of Total
Carpenters	13,050	20.6
Electricians	8,926	14.1
Pipe Trades	7,057	11.1
Operating Engineers	4,447	7.0
Painters	4,051	6.4
Iron Workers	3,563	5.6
Sheet Metal Workers	3,543	5.6
Cement Masons	2,683	4.2
Bricklayers	2,581	4.1
Roofers	2,477	3.9
Elevator Constructors	1,237	2.0
Machinists	1,214	1.9
Asbestos Workers	821	1.3
Plasterers	740	1.2
Lathers	562	0.9
Glaziers	470	0.7
Tile Setters	268	0.4
Other	5,732	9.0
Total	63,432	100.0

Source: Statistics obtained from U.S. Department of Labor, Employment and Training Administration.

Table IV-5. Female Placements in Apprenticeship Outreach Programs, Oct. 1, 1979 - Sept. 30, 1980.

Trade	Placements Total No.	Placements Female No.	Placements Female %
Total	3,027	1,381	27.5
Asbestos Workers	55	16	29.1
Bricklayers	155	22	14.2
Carpenters	914	270	29.5
Cement Masons	224	73	32.6
Electricians	795	190	23.9
Elevator Constructors	124	35	28.2
Glaziers	37	9	24.3
Iron Workers	266	51	19.2
Lathers	18	3	16.7
Machinists	84	27	32.1
Operating Engineers	365	127	34.8
Painters	294	97	33.0
Pipe Trades	596	146	24.5
Plasterers	36	6	16.7
Roofers	133	25	18.8
Sheet Metal Workers	289	62	21.5
Tile Setters	12	6	50.0
Other	630	216	34.3

Source: Statistics obtained from U.S. Department of Labor, Employment and Training Administration.

Table IV-6. Minority Membership as Percent of Total in Referral Unions in the Construction Industry, by Trade, 1970 and 1979.

Construction Unions	Participation Rates of Minorities 1/										% Change, 1970-79		
	All		Black		Hispanic		Asian		American Indian		All	Black	Hispanic
	1979	1970	1979	1970	1979	1970	1979	1970	1979	1970			
All Construction Unions	17.4	15.1	8.4	8.2	7.2	5.9	0.5	0.2	1.3	0.8	15.2	2.4	22.0
Mechanical Trades	10.2	6.0	4.3	1.8	4.2	3.2	0.5	0.2	1.3	0.7	70.0	138.9	31.3
Boilermakers	15.1	10.9	7.6	4.3	4.1	5.0	1.7	0.5	1.7	1.1	38.5	76.7	-18.0
Electrical Workers	11.3	6.7	5.0	2.5	5.1	3.7	0.5	0.1	0.8	0.4	68.7	100.0	37.8
Elevator Constructors	7.1	4.3	3.8	1.5	1.6	2.5	0.7	0.1	0.9	0.3	65.1	153.3	-36.0
Iron Workers	12.0	7.6	4.9	1.7	4.1	3.6	0.2	0.4	2.8	1.9	57.9	188.2	13.9
Plumbers-Pipefitters	7.9	3.6	3.0	1.0	3.1	1.9	0.5	0.1	1.4	0.6	119.4	200.0	63.2
Sheetmetal Workers	9.2	6.1	3.2	0.9	5.0	4.8	0.2	0.2	0.8	0.2	50.8	255.6	4.2
Miscellaneous Trades	14.4	10.5	5.7	4.8	6.8	4.8	0.6	0.2	1.3	0.7	37.1	18.8	41.7
Asbestos Workers	7.3	2.9	3.3	1.0	2.3	1.4	0.2	0.0	1.5	0.5	151.7	230.0	64.3
Bricklayers	13.5	13.2	8.5	10.2	4.3	2.6	0.1	0.0	0.7	0.4	2.3	-16.7	65.4
Carpenters	13.0	9.2	4.2	3.4	7.6	5.1	0.4	0.2	1.0	0.5	41.3	23.5	49.0
Operating Engineers	12.2	6.9	5.6	4.2	3.1	1.4	1.1	0.1	2.4	1.2	76.8	33.3	121.4
Painters	17.9	13.0	5.5	4.2	10.8	7.8	0.7	0.4	0.9	0.6	37.7	31.0	38.5
Plasterers	37.6	32.7	19.3	16.6	16.9	14.7	0.6	0.1	0.9	0.8	16.8	-13.9	15.0
Roofers	22.7	23.1	13.2	15.6	7.3	5.6	0.5	0.1	1.7	1.8	-1.7	-15.4	30.4
Laborers	39.1	42.4	23.2	27.9	14.5	13.3	0.2	0.2	1.3	1.0	-7.8	-16.8	9.0
All Excluding Laborers	12.4	8.4	5.0	3.4	5.5	4.1	0.5	0.2	1.3	0.7	47.6	47.1	34.1

1/ Minority membership as percent of total.

Source: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, EEOC 1979 Report: Job Patterns for Minorities and Women in Apprenticeship Programs and Referral Unions, 1979, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1982, pp. 190-191. Statistics for 1970 were obtained from the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

Table IV-7. Minority Membership in Construction Unions Indexed to Minority Employment in Craft Jobs in Industry, 1970 and 1979.

	Minorities					
	All [3]		Black		Hispanic	
	1979	1970	1979	1970	1979	1970
Participation Rates [1] of Craft Workers in Industry (%)	14.2	9.2	8.2	5.6	4.9	3.0
Index of Participation Rates: [2] Craft Workers in Industry	100	100	100	100	100	100
Construction Union Membership:						
Mechanical Trades	72	65	52	32	86	107
Boilermakers	106	119	93	77	84	167
Electrical Workers	80	73	61	45	104	123
Elevator Construction	50	47	46	27	33	83
Iron Workers	85	83	60	30	84	120
Plumbers and Pipefitters	56	39	37	18	63	63
Sheet Metal Workers	65	66	39	16	102	160
Miscellaneous Trades	101	114	70	86	139	160
Asbestos Workers	51	32	40	18	47	47
Bricklayers	95	144	104	182	88	87
Carpenters	92	100	51	61	155	170
Operating Engineers	86	75	68	75	63	47
Painters and Decorators	126	141	67	75	220	260
Plasterers and Cement Masons	265	350	174	296	345	490
Roofers	160	251	161	279	149	187
Total, less Laborers	87	91	61	61	112	137

[1] Minorities as percent of total.

[2] Index is obtained by dividing the participation rates of minority members of construction unions by those of minority craft workers in industry, and multiplying by 100.

[3] Includes black, Hispanic, Asian, and American Indian minorities.

Source: U. S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, EEOC 1979 Report: Job Patterns for Minorities and Women in Apprenticeship Programs and Referral Unions, 1979, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1982, pp. 190-191. Statistics for 1970 were obtained from the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

Table IV-8. Females as Percent of All Members Within Each Race and Ethnic Group in Construction Unions, 1979.

Construction Unions	Female as % of All in Group				
			Minorities		
	Total	White	All 1/	Black	Hispanic
All Construction Unions	1.6	1.1	3.8	4.8	3.0
Mechanical Trades	1.3	0.8	6.2	7.3	7.2
Boilermakers	1.8	1.3	4.5	6.0	3.2
Electrical Workers	2.6	1.4	11.9	11.4	14.7
Elevator Constructors	0.5	0.4	1.8	3.0	0.0
Iron Workers	0.2	0.2	0.5	1.0	0.1
Plumbers - Pipefitters	0.5	0.4	1.5	3.0	0.7
Sheet Metal Workers	1.0	0.5	6.1	14.5	1.8
Miscellaneous Trades	1.1	0.7	2.2	3.5	1.2
Asbestos Workers	0.6	0.6	1.2	1.8	0.0
Bricklayers	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1
Carpenters	0.8	0.7	1.8	2.6	1.4
Operating Engineers	1.5	1.2	3.8	6.8	0.8
Painters - Decorators	1.8	1.6	2.8	4.7	2.1
Plasterers - Cement Masons	0.7	0.6	0.8	1.4	0.2
Roofers	0.3	0.3	0.5	0.6	0.2
Laborers	3.5	3.3	3.8	4.6	2.4
All excluding Laborers	1.2	0.7	3.8	5.0	3.4

1/ Includes black, Hispanic, Asian, and American Indian minorities.

Source: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, EEOC 1979 Report: Job Patterns for Minorities and Women in Apprenticeship Programs and Referral Unions, 1979, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1982, pp. 190-191.

References

1. Herbert Hammerman, "Minority Workers in Construction Referral Unions," *Monthly Labor Review*, May 1972; and "Minorities in Construction Referral Unions—Revisited," *Monthly Labor Review*, May 1973.

2. For detailed descriptions, as well as critiques of the OFCCP programs, see the following publications of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights: *Federal Civil Rights Enforcement Effort*, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1970, pp. 166-172, 201-212; *The Federal Civil Rights Enforcement Effort—1974*, Vol. V, *To Eliminate Employment Discrimination*, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1975, pp. 343-399; *The Federal Civil Rights Enforcement Effort—1977*, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1977, pp. 126-138.

3. See Hammerman, *op. cit.*, May 1973.

4. *Minority Gains in New York Construction Jobs*, Ruttenberg, Friedman, Kilgallon, Gutchess & Associates, Washington, D.C., December 1979.

5. See reference 21 in Chapter I.

6. The data on Outreach are unpublished statistics obtained from the U.S. Department of Labor. For a description of the Outreach Program, see the Chapter I section on "Affirmative Action in Construction" and reference 16 in Chapter I.

7. Some women reported as referral union members might not have been employed in the construction industry. The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, AFL-CIO, the bargaining agent for electricians in construction, also represents large numbers of industrial workers in the manufacturing and public utilities industries. Several of its local unions are bargaining agents in more than one industry and it seems likely that some workers in the other industries have been reported in the referral union membership statistics of EEO-3.

8. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, *EEOC 1979 Report: Minorities and Women in Private Industry*, Vol. 1, Washington, D.C., 1981, p. 8. Only a small part of the construction industry, employers with 100 or more permanent employees, are required to file EEO-1. Approximately 562,000 employees were reported in 1979, an estimated 12.1 percent of the industry total.

CHAPTER V
GOVERNMENT EMPLOYMENT

In its 1973 study, the Potomac Institute found that, although there was no necessary incompatibility between the principles of affirmative action and the merit system of public service, a conflict often existed in practice. The problem arose where unvalidated and frequently unnecessary types of tests and other procedures for selection and promotion served to exclude minorities or limit them to the lowest paid jobs and classifications. According to the Urban Institute and the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, the Federal Service Entrance Examination for starting professional and administrative jobs discriminated against blacks.

Equal employment opportunity in the federal government had been the subject of a series of executive orders from the time of the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration. The Civil Service Commission, which had had the responsibility for administering the federal EEO programs since 1965, was given further powers and responsibilities in the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972.[1] Section 717 of that Act, which amended Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, expressly banned discrimination in the federal government on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, and national origin, and directed the Civil Service Commission to review affirmative action plans of federal agencies annually and to evaluate the agencies' EEO programs routinely. Until that time, the Commission had been suggesting use of goals and timetables to the agencies, but had not required them.

Evaluation of federal employment statistics by the Potomac Institute had indicated that, in the decade from 1962 to 1972, modest gains had been achieved in black employment at all pay levels, but not in the employment of Hispanics. However, minorities were still heavily concentrated in the lower grades. The median grade of minorities in the General Schedule (GS-1 through GS-18), which covered more than one-half of all federal government employees, was 4.5, compared to a median of 8.8 for whites. Considerable and significant differences were found in the employment of minorities by the various agencies of government, among federal civil service regions, and among metropolitan areas. Included in the factors faulted as limiting the government's progress were refusal to require the use of goals and timetables by agencies, the practice of agency self-review, and the confidentiality of Civil Service Commission evaluations of agencies.

The record of state and local governments was found to be far worse than that of the federal government, a very serious condemnation considering that state and local governments had been the fastest growing sector of employment in the nation. One reason for the poor record was the initial exemption of state and local governments from Title VII, an exclusion that was not remedied until passage of the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972. Also, no comprehensive statistical data existed for this large group of employees. However, a survey conducted by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights in 1967 and published in 1969,[2] and another survey conducted in 1970 by the National Civil Service League,[3] revealed a scarcity of minority employees at decision-making levels and in major departments other than those engaged in service functions or dealing with the poor. The worst records were found in police and fire departments. The evidence indicated widespread use of discriminatory methods in selection and promotion through written tests unrelated to job performance, arbitrarily chosen educational and experience requirements, irrelevant requirements as to physical condition, age, sex, etc., restricted training opportunities, and selective announcements of opportunities for employment and promotion.

The study found recent improvement in the climate for employment of minorities in state and local governments as a result of three factors: (1) in 1971, the federal government issued a new EEO standard affecting the merit systems of state and local governments and requiring affirmative action in merit systems; (2) the Civil Service Commission assumed authority for the merit system standards; and (3) as of mid-1972, states were required to submit plans for affirmative action to the federal government as a condition of continued receipt of federal funds to grant-aided agencies. The importance of these factors was highlighted by a sharp increase in federal grants to state and local governments, rising from $7 billion in 1960 to $25 billion in 1970, and stimulating a 62

percent increase in state and local government employment.

Federal Government Employment

Administrative and Program Changes

In 1978 and subsequent years, more attention was paid to EEO in the federal government's own agencies than ever before. However, since our analysis is limited to the 1970-1980 decade, it reflects mainly activities in the pre-reorganization period when the program was under the stewardship of the Civil Service Commission. Effects of subsequent changes can be studied only from data for years beyond the purview of this report.

Two key changes were made in 1978. The first was the massive Carter reorganization of EEO responsibilities which we have described in Chapter I.[4] The EEOC was given the duties in section 717 of Title VII of annual review and approval of federal agency EEO plans, periodic review and approval of all EEO programs, and the requirement and publishing of progress reports. It also received the function of hearing and deciding appeals from agency decisions on charges of discrimination against agency employees. In his statement ot Congress, President Carter explained:

> "Transfer of the Civil Service Commission's equal employment opportunity responsibilities to EEOC is needed to ensure that: (1) Federal employees have the same rights and remedies as those in the private sector and in State and local government; (2) Federal agencies meet the same standards as are required of other employers; and (3) potential conflicts between an agency's equal employment opportunity and personnel management functions are minimized. The Federal government must not fall below the standard of performance it expects of private employers."[5]

The transfer of the federal employee programs was part of a general reorganization intended to concentrate most of the government's EEO functions in a single agency, the EEOC. Included in that intent was the government contractor program, but the contemplated transfer of the Office of Federal Contract Compliance to the EEOC was postponed for two years and never consummated. Consequently, the EEOC did not get an experienced staff, such as that of the OFCCP, to help it carry out its new affirmative action functions. Experienced almost solely in the retail operations of processing charges of discrimination, the EEOC found itself with little staff knowledge to carry over to the wholesale management of affirmative action in the federal service.

The second key change in 1978 was the enactment of a federal minority recruitment program in the Civil Service Reform Act of 1978.[6] The provision setting up this program, known after its author as the "Garcia Amendment," placed its control in the new Office of Personnel Management (OPM), as the reorganized Civil Service Commission was now designated in the act. The program was "designed to eliminate underrepresentation of minorities within the Federal service." It provided, for the first time in federal law, a statistical basis for setting goals, defining under-representation as "a situation in which the number of members of a minority group designation . . . within a category of civil service employment constitutes a lower percentage of the number of employees within the employment category than the percentage which the minority constituted within the labor force of the United States, as determined under the most recent decennial or mid-decade census, or current population survey." A "category of civil service employment" was in turn defined as pertaining to scheduled grades and "such occupational, professional, or other groupings (including occupational series) . . . as the Office determines appropriate."[7]

While giving the administrative control of the minority recruitment program to the OPM, the Garcia Amendment gave the EEOC a key policy role in its development. The EEOC was authorized to write the guidelines under which the program was to operate, to make the initial determinations of underrepresentation, and to designate the minority groups to which the program applied. At the start, the EEOC was confronted with two major interpretive problems, the designation of minorities and the definition of "labor force of the United States." The Garcia Amendment limited its application to minorities, completely omitting the issue of sex discrimination in recruitment. The EECO decided that this omission was by inadvertence, that the congressional intent had been to cover women. Therefore, it included women in its designation of minority groups, and received an interpretation on congressional intent from its legal counsel as well as the approval of Congressman Garcia. It made initial determinations of underrepresentation by grade, nationwide, for nine groups, white women and each of the four minority groups by sex.

In its definition of "labor force of the United States," the EEOC decided that all indicia of current availability of minority/sex groups by occupation were reflections of past discrimination and were to be ignored. Only the total representation of each group within the entire civilian labor force was to be considered. The particular civilian labor force statistic to be selected was that of the nation or the geographic area in which the federal agency was located, *which-*

ever was greater. The EEOC guidelines were appended to the OPM's regulations, which were published in April 1979.[8] The regulations established a Federal Equal Employment Recruitment Program, and spelled out the OPM's general requirements. More detailed instructions were sent to the agencies later that year in a Federal Personnel Manual Letter (No. 720-2). The letter appended many pages of civilian labor force statistics for the nation, each state, and each Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area.

In 1979, the EEOC set out to develop guidelines and procedures for federal agency operations of affirmative action programs under section 717. It wrote a transition year program, to be followed by a permanent program with both annual and long-range goals.[9] The long range was to be five years, which would see substantial elimination of under-representation. Detailed and extensive record-keeping and reporting requirements were to be met by federal agencies.[10] As it turned out, the EEOC encountered many difficulties and obstacles in the development of its program, some of which had still not been completely resolved in mid-1984 when this study went to press.

One problem was to settle on a statistical base for setting hiring and promotion goals for affirmative action. With its decisions under the Garcia Amendment as a model, the EEOC at first adopted the same statistical formulation, with one exception. The agencies would have to use civilian labor force percentages as their goals for all jobs, except those in the professional category, for which modified 1970 Census data provided very broad estimates of availability. This decision is currently being modified, with the civilian labor force statistic being retained only as an ultimate goal, after attainment of intermediate goals based on 1980 statistics for broad occupational categories.

Other problems were similarly a consequence of unrealistic expectations as well as inexperience and haste. The staffing requirements for an affirmative action program of this magnitude were grossly underestimated. Detailed reporting by agencies was mandated, but adequate staff, procedures, and data processing facilities needed to analyze reports were not provided. On top of unrealistic statistical goals, the EEOC established a multi-year program for achievement of such goals within only a five-year period.

Still, as the Leonard report concluded from its analysis of government contractors, establishments that set higher goals, even though inflated, subsequently achieved more.[11] To test that hypothesis on the federal employee program, we would need later data than are analyzed herein.

Employment and Grade Changes, 1970-1980

The federal government maintains three wage systems. By far the largest, accounting for 60 percent of total employment, is the predominantly white-collar General Schedule (GS). The wage systems for blue-collar workers, determined on prevailing area-based wage rates, cover 18 percent of total employment. Another 21 percent is accounted for by the postal service. Table V-1 shows minority group employment percentages for each of these three systems in 1970 and 1980. The highest minority representation was in the wage systems, and the lowest was in the General Schedule which, however, had the greatest increases in minority employment in the ten-year period.

Table V-1 also compares these figures with those of private industry discussed in Chapter III. The comparison shows generally a greater minority representation in the federal government pay categories. This is particularly true of blacks and American Indians (over half of whom are employed by the Department of the Interior). Among Hispanics, only the blue-collar wage systems exceed private sector employment. A further breakdown of the private industry statistics, limited to white-collar job categories, the most comparable to the General Schedule, reveals a much smaller number of blacks employed in industry, 7.4 percent, compared with an almost double 14.5 percent in the General Schedule. However, it should be noted that federal government operations are more apt to be located in areas of high minority concentrations, most notably the Capital itself.

The General Schedule comprises 15 pay grades, from GS-1 to GS-15. The executive levels (formerly GS 16-18) were separated from the General Schedule by the Civil Service Reform Act of 1978. Table V-2 presents the participation rate of women and minorities in each of these grades and the executive level for 1970 and 1980. (See also Charts V-1, V-2, V-3, and V-4.) The table shows the following:

CHART V-1. Federal Government General Service Employment by Race and Ethnicity

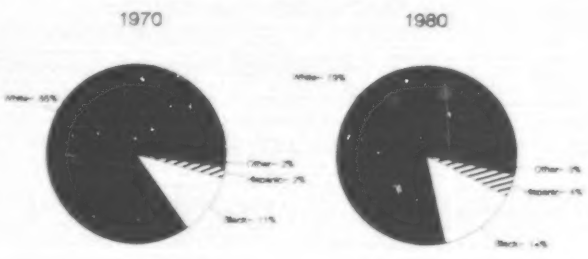


CHART V-2.

Federal Government General Service Employment by Sex

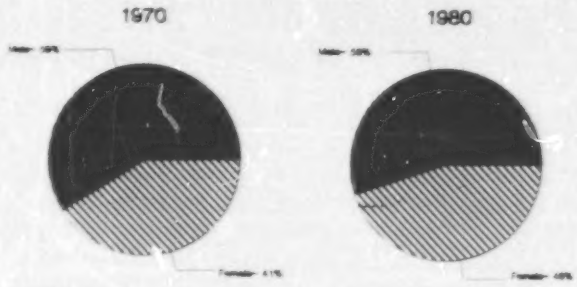


CHART V-3.

Minorities in Federal Employment by Grade, 1970–1980

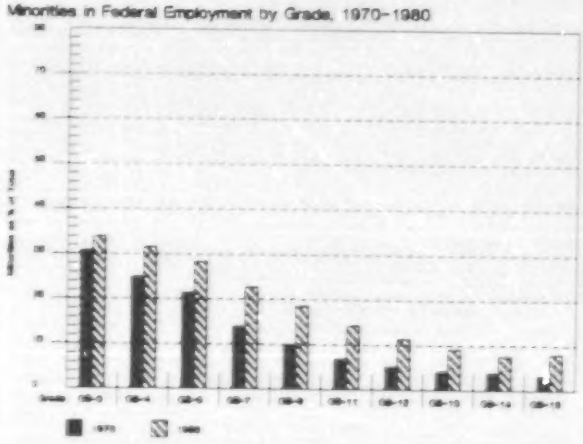
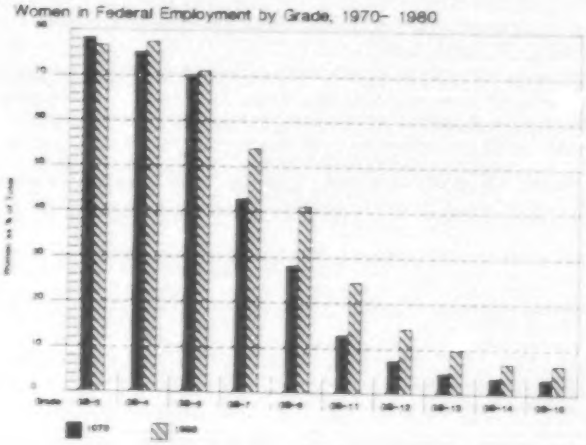


CHART V-4.

Women in Federal Employment by Grade, 1970– 1980



—Women and minorities have had substantial increases in representation in all but the lowest grades.

—Combining the lowest five grades shows women with almost exactly the same proportion of these jobs in 1980 as in 1970, three-fourths of the total. This signifies no change in the relative number of females in the traditional clerical jobs. In the ten higher grades, GS-6 through GS-15, however, the female participation rose from 23.0 percent to 29.9 percent, a 30 percent increase. These are similar to the observations about women in private industry.

—Except in the lowest three grades, blacks have had substantial increases in representation, more than doubling in each grade from GS-10 through GS-15.

—Hispanics, whose numbers were sparse in 1970, had a considerable percentage increase in all grades. However, they still were below their private industry representation in all but three grades in 1980.

—In the highest grades, representation of minorities and women thinned out considerably. The only exception to this trend was Asians, who apparently did better in the higher grades and actually had their highest representation in GS-15 in 1980.

—Minority and female representation at the executive level rose rapidly. Comparing 1980 with only one year earlier, the proportion of minorities increased from 5.7 percent to 7.0 percent, and women rose from 4.9 percent to 6.2 percent.

Another way of analyzing the data is by grade distribution for each race and ethnic group and for males and females. Table V-3 combines the 15 General Schedule grades into five grade ranges. The percentages in the "All Employees" column shows how the distribution of employees in those ranges changed from 1970 to 1980. Close to one-half of total employment was in the two lower paid ranges, GS 1-4 and GS 5-8, in 1980. Somewhat more than one-half was in those ranges ten years earlier, the difference being due to a reduction of employment in the lowest range. The overall reduction in the lower grades is counterbalanced by small increases in the ranges starting with GS-12.

Considering the "All Employee" distributions as the norm for each listed year, the following observations can be made. In both years, many fewer males were in the lower two ranges, and many more males were in the higher three ranges. For females, the pattern is reversed, with by far the largest concentrations in the lower two ranges, and much less than the norm in the higher three ranges. Also, reflecting a general shift to higher level jobs, there were fewer males in the three lower ranges in 1980 than in 1970, and more in each of the two higher ranges. The general improvement in female participation is reflected in the figures showing greater changes than for males in the ten-year period. Still, the proportion of women in the top GS 14-15 category, though doubled, was only one percent in 1980.

Whites, accounting for about four-fifths of the total, had a somewhat more favorable distribution in the highest three ranges than the "All Employee" averages for each year. While the minority grade distributions showed considerable improvement from 1970 to 1980, blacks and American Indians remained far below the average. Hispanics, while moving closer to the norm, were still below it in 1980, particularly in the higher grades. The Asian distributions were similar to those of whites.

Statistics for the average GS grade by race or ethnic group and sex are shown in Table V-4. In 1970, the average GS grade of blacks was 5.5, considerably less than the white 8.3. Ten years later the black average had increased a grade to 6.5, while there was a smaller 0.4 increase in the average white grade. Hispanics had somewhat higher grades than blacks and an increase of almost the same extent. The American Indian averages were about the same as blacks in both periods. Asians, in contrast to the other minority groups, had higher grade averages than whites. The persistent black-to-white gap may be explained partly by the high proportion of black employees who were female, 66 percent, compared with white females at 41 percent, and partly by the continued concentration of black males in the lower grades.

The male average in 1970 of 9.7 was considerably higher than the female average of 5.5. Both increased over the 10-year span, the male by 0.4 and the female by 0.8 of a grade. The female gain was not sufficient to significantly close the female-to-male gap in grade levels and jobs and, hence, pay.

The OPM classifies its white-collar jobs into over 400 occupational series, and it groups and publishes statistics for these series in five broad PATCO job categories. Table V-5 presents, for 1979, both employment and average salary data for the five PATCO categories by race or ethnicity and sex. The published statistics, however, include postal workers who account for one-half of all federal clerical workers and one-tenth of all administrative workers. To clarify the General Service ratios, the table also shows clerical data excluding postal workers. (See Charts V-5 and V-6.)

In sharp contrast to most other industries, the postal service has traditionally employed men in its major clerical jobs. Women accounted for only 16.6 percent of postal clerical employment in 1979. Consequently, women, who held 85.6 percent of all nonpostal clerical jobs, had only one-half of the total clerical jobs when including postal workers. Also, the effects of including postal workers when analyzing income statistics is considerable. The ratio of female-to-male income

CHART V–5.

Federal GS Salaries by Job, Race and Ethnicity, 1979.

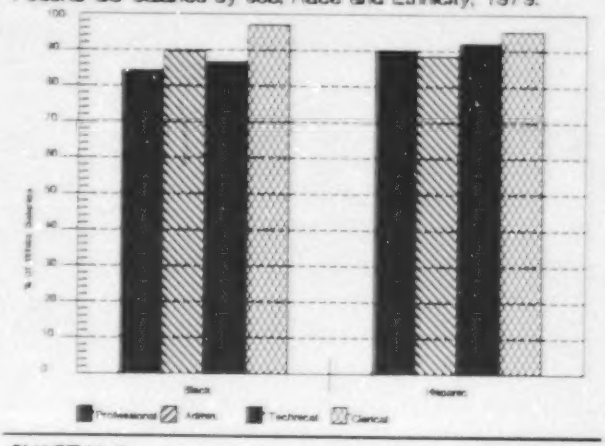
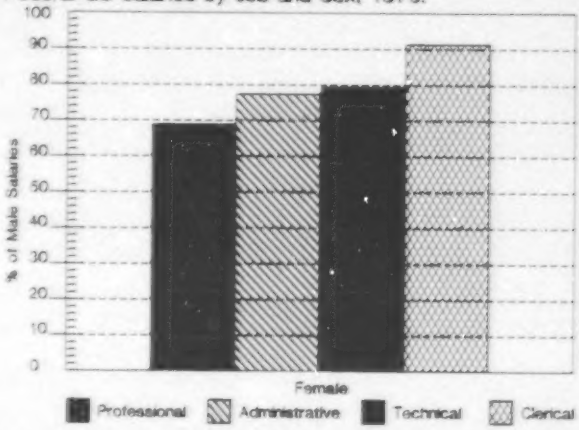


CHART V–6.

Federal GS Salaries by Job and Sex, 1979.



was 91.4 percent in nonpostal clerical jobs, but only 77.1 percent when postal clerical was included. The reason is that postal clerks of both sexes averaged considerably greater incomes than other clerical employees, and, since male clerks predominate among postal workers and female clerks among nonpostal workers, the 77.1 percent figure reflects mainly the ratio of nonpostal to postal incomes.

Table V-5 shows a lower female-to-male income ratio for professionals than for the other four occupational categories. Much of this difference is explained by the fact that 45 percent of all female professionals were in a single, lower paid occupation, nurses. If nurses are excluded, women account for only 13.9 percent of professional jobs instead of 22.6 percent. Also, with nurses excluded from the calculation, average professional female income is significantly higher, increasing the female-to-male income ratio from 68.9 to 73.2 percent.

Table V-5 also reinforces the evidence of the employment patterns indicated in the foregoing grade distributions, with women and minorities concentrated in the lower paid categories. As to income, the ratios of minority-to-white incomes are considerably higher in all categories than the ratios of female-to-male income. As seen in the case of nurses, women tend to be concentrated in lower paid occupational series within the broad categories. This is less true for minorities, regardless of job category.

A geographical analysis of federal employment is presented in the regional breakdown in Table V-6. The years covered are 1971 and 1979, with sex omitted because of the absence of such data for the earlier year. Minority participation rates increased in all regions in the eight-year period. In 1979, they ranged from 5.7 percent in New England to 27.8 percent in the District of Columbia. Black employment was highest in the District of Columbia, Mid Atlantic, Great Lakes, and Eastern regions, in that order. The Southeast region, with a total federal employment of 209,000, close to and second only to the District of Columbia, had the greatest increase in black participation in the eight-year period, but still was sixth in black participation in 1979. Hispanics had by far their greatest representation in the Southwest region, 12.2 percent in 1979, trailed by the Western region with 6.3 percent. American Indians were well represented in four regions: Rocky Mountain, Southwest, Northwest, and Western; and Asians in only one region, the Western.

Blacks were most substantially employed in the District of Columbia metropolitan area, accounting for one-fourth of that region's total GS employment; and more than two out of three of those blacks employed (69 percent) were female.

Table V-7 compares the participation rates of blacks and Hispanics in 16 federal agencies, five of them in the Department of Defense, in 1971 and 1979. These agencies account for three-fourths of total GS employment. The 16 agencies show wide variations in minority figures, from 26.6 percent black representation in the General Services Administration in 1979 to 3.8 percent in the Department of the Interior, and from 6.1 percent Hispanics in the Air Force to 1.6 percent in the Office of the Secretary of Defense. (Interior, on the other hand, had an exceptionally large employment of American Indians, 19.6 percent, in 1979, not shown on the table.)

Since the available data permit a breakdown by grade, Table V-7 displays the percentages for two ranges of grades, GS 1-8 and GS 9-15. In all agencies, substantially smaller proportions of blacks were in the higher grades, and the same was true for Hispanics, though to a lesser extent. Between 1971 and 1979, gains for minorities were achieved in most agencies, resulting in a moderate reduction in the grade range disparities. The differences among agencies in minority employment reflect, in part, policy, such as Interior's employment of American Indians, and, in part, location, such as the Air Force, located to a large extent in the West and Southwest, employing a greater proportion of Hispanics.

State and Local Government Employment

As previously stated, most federal agencies that provided services of any kind to private or public employers developed programs requiring equal employment opportunity. Such employers included state and local governments which were recipients of financial assistance in the form of loans, grants, guarantees, and revenue sharing, as well as those subject to licensing and other federal regulations. The legal bases for such EEO requirements are Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964,[12] which prohibits discrimination in the provision of services by recipients of loans and grants and discrimination in employment directly affected by discrimination in services, and various other statutes which specifically or implicitly bar employment discrimination.[13] Extensive expansion of federal loan and grant programs during the 1970s, and the development of staffs to administer the EEO requirements, brought increasing pressures to bear on state and local governments and their agencies.

Employment and Salary Changes, 1973-1980

Since 1973, the EEOC has conducted an annual survey of state and local governments on Form EEO-4. The survey obtains employment data not only by occupation, but also by salary range within occupation. In addition, it obtains data on new hires during the preceding fiscal year. A comparison of aggregates for all reporting governments in 1973 and 1980 shows increased participation rates of each minority group and of women. (See Table V-8 and Charts V-7 and V-8.) Further, higher participation rates are manifest in all of the eight job categories listed on the EEO-4 for all but two groups: Hispanic paraprofessionals, and female skilled craft workers.

Comparing state and local governments with other industries in 1980 shows a lower representation of blacks and American Indians than in the federal government, but a higher representation of blacks

CHART V-7.

State and Local Total Employment, by Sex and Race.

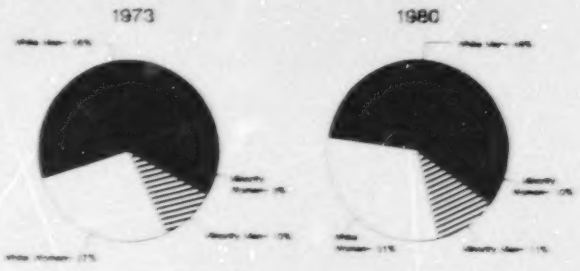


CHART V-8.

State and Local Professional Employment by Sex and Race.

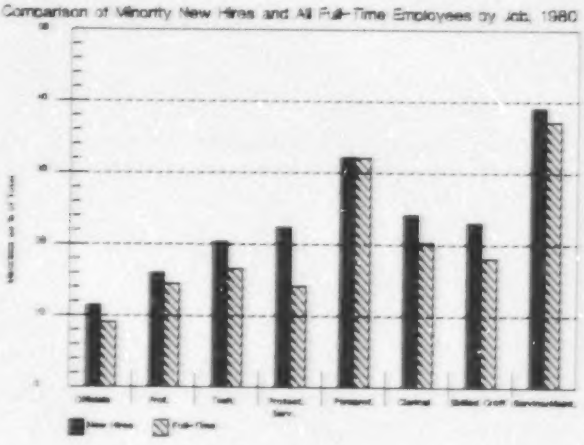
than in private industry. (See Table V-9.) Employment of females was the same as in private industry, and higher than in the federal government. A comparison limited to white-collar jobs reveals a minority participation in state and local governments slightly lower than in the federal government, but considerably higher than in private industry, due to the lower representation of blacks in the latter. Females were employed in white-collar jobs to a much greater extent in state and local governments than in other industries, reflecting a high representation of women in all white-collar job categories.

Only white males had a lower participation rate in 1980 than in 1973. (See Table V-10.) Nevertheless, they still retained close to one-half of all state and local government jobs. The largest gains were made by white females, substantial in administrative, professional, and technician jobs. As in other industries, white females did not reduce their proportion of clerical jobs, but rather made gains in the other job categories through increased labor force participation. Minority women made gains in clerical as well as all other white-collar jobs, and also in service jobs. Minority males made substantial gains in protective service and skilled craft jobs, and moderate gains in the administrative, professional, and technician jobs.

Statistics on new hires are an important feature of EEO-4 in that they isolate employment activities occurring in the preceding year. They are particularly informative when compared to the statistics on total employment. In the 1980 report (see Table V-11), all female new hires and each of the minority new hires show greater participation rates than the corresponding full-time employees. By job categories, the figures show considerable improvement for women in all but the paraprofessional and clerical jobs. For minorities, there were substantial gains in protective service and skilled craft jobs, and more moderate gains in all other categories except paraprofessional. (See Chart V-9.) The occupational distributions in the lower half of Table V-11 reveal some of the impact of these changes in participation by showing how employment was distributed by job category for each group.

CHART V-9.

Comparison of Minority New Hires and All Full-Time Employees by Job, 1980



The EEO-4 obtains data for full-time employees by sex, race, and ethnicity among eight salary ranges within each of the eight job categories. From these employment distributions the EEOC has computed and published median salaries by job category. Since the medians are derived from broad dollar ranges, they must be considered as rough estimates rather than exact data, particularly in comparing 1980 with 1973, when the form had different dollar salary ranges.

Nevertheless, Table V-12 clearly reveals certain general relationships.

Median salaries of black, Hispanic, and American Indian males were lower than salaries of white males, but Asian male salaries were higher. The pay of all females was lower than their male counterparts, but Asian females had a higher median salary than black and Hispanic males. With rare exceptions, these generalizations held true for all job categories, from which the following conclusions can be drawn: (1) sex is a more significant determinant of pay differentials than race or ethnicity; and (2) within each of the eight broad job categories, women tend to be employed in lower paid jobs than men, as was found in the General Schedule categories of the federal government. However, both the male-female and the white-black pay differentials in state and local governments, as well as in the federal government, are narrower than in private industry, as is evident in Table II-12 and other relevant tables in Chapter II.

Table V-13 compares minority employment by civil service region in state and local governments and the federal government. In the absence of EEO-4 statistics by state for 1979 and regional federal statistics by state for 1980, the table uses data a year apart in comparing the two types of government geographically. No consistent pattern is found in these data. Minorities had considerably greater representation in state and local governments in the Southeast and Southwest, and somewhat greater representation in the New England and Western regions. On the other hand, minorities in the federal government had greater representation in the Eastern, Great Lakes, Mid Atlantic, and Mid Continent regions. In the Rocky Mountain region, state and local governments had a greater proportion of Hispanics, but the federal government employed more American Indians there as well as in the Northwest.

Employment Changes by Function

Form EEO-4 is filed by states, counties, cities, townships, special districts, and other forms of local government. Although it would be instructive to analyze statistics separately for these different types of government, the EEOC does not develop its data by type of jurisdiction. However, it requires a separate report for each of 14 functions and a miscellaneous "other" function performed by these governments and publishes aggregate data by function.[4] Tables V-14(a) through V-14(h) present selected data, aggregated nationwide, for eight functions accounting for three-fourths of total state and local government employment. Participation rates are shown for 1973 and 1980 for whites, blacks, and Hispanics by sex and job category. Also, the occupational distribution for all males and females is added to indicate the numerical importance of participation rates within each job category.

As expected, the large majority of males in police and fire protection are shown as employed in protective service jobs. In streets and highways, utilities and transportation, and sanitation and sewage, males predominate in the blue-collar skilled craft and service-maintenance jobs. Within most functions, the majority of females perform office and clerical work. That is not true, however, of public welfare, where a majority of the females perform professional and paraprofessional work, nor of hospitals and sanitoriums with large numbers of women performing technician and service work as well as doing professional and paraprofessional jobs.

Function 01: Financial Administration, General Control (Table V-14(a))—This function accounted for 14 percent of total state and local government employment in 1980. Black and Hispanic employment, mainly female, increased from 1973. There was little change in white female representation, and white male employment declined. White females held 24 percent of the jobs as officials and administrators in 1980, while minorities, both sexes, held one-third that number. Figures on median salaries in this function (not shown on the table) indicated a salary ratio of female to male officials and administrators at 62 percent. This was a considerable lower ratio than was found for that job category in most of the other functions, where the combined female-to-male salary ratio for officials and administrators was 76 percent. The greatest increases in the participation rates of minority males were in the protective service and skilled craft job categories, and of minority females in the office and clerical and service-maintenance categories. White females made the largest advances in the professional and technician job categories.

Function 03: Public Welfare (Table V-14(c))—A large majority of the employees were female, mainly white females with 55 percent of 1980 employment, and black females with 16 percent. Changes in representation from 1973 were small for all groups. White females held over one-half of the professional, technician, paraprofessional, and clerical jobs. They were 39 percent of officials and administrators. Black females were most substantially represented in paraprofessional and clerical jobs, followed by service-maintenance, technician, and professional jobs, in that order.

Function 07: Hospitals and Sanitoriums (Table V-14(f))—This function has 16 percent of state and local government employment, more than any other function. Employment is predominantly female, comprising almost three-fourths of the total workforce, with white females 53 percent of the total and black females 17 percent. In the 1973-1980 period, only white females gained in representation. Black females, as well as all male groups, white and minority, declined in participation. White females held as many official and administrative jobs as white males, 45 percent, and over three-fifths of the professional and technician jobs. Black females were far better represented as technicians, 16.6 percent, and paraprofessionals, 26 percent, than as professionals, 7 percent. Their reduced percentages in 1980 compared to 1973 in certain key job categories (i.e. professionals, technicians, and clerical) may have been due to reporting inconsistencies in the survey.

Function 04: Police Protection, and 06: Fire Protection (Table V-14(d) and (e))—These two functions combined account for almost 16 percent of total state and local government employment, with the police employing twice as many as the fire departments. Although both functions had about the same representation of black and Hispanic males in 1980, the figures reflect considerably greater increases over 1973 in the case of fire protection, both for the total of all employees and for the protective service job category alone. Female workers increased their representation substantially in the police function, but continued to be greatly under-represented outside of clerical jobs in fire protection. A comparison of minority and female employment in the protective service job category of the police and fire functions with all other state and local government functions reveals considerably lower representations of blacks and women. The following figures for 1980 show the contrast:

Protective Service Workers[a]

Function	(% of total employees) Black	Hispanic	Female
Police and Fire	7.4	3.2	4.5
Police	7.6	3.2	6.1
Fire	6.9	3.3	0.4
All Other	16.3	3.5	13.0

Function 02: Streets and Highways; 12: Utilities and Transportation; and 13: Sanitation and Sewage (Tables V-14(b), (g) and (h))—These employ predominantly male, blue-collar workers, accounting together for 21 percent of total state and local government employment. The major job categories are skilled craft and service-maintenance. In 1980, male employment both in streets and highways and in utilities and transportation was concentrated in two job categories, about three-tenths in skilled-craft jobs and four-tenths in service-maintenance jobs. Sanitation and sewage had a somewhat less skilled craft representation and a much greater service-maintenance representation. Both black and Hispanic males had their lowest participation rates in the streets and highways function, which consists mainly of construction work, their highest participation in sanitation and sewage, and intermediate rates in utilities and transportation. In street and highway employment, black male representation in skilled crafts increased from five percent in 1973 to close to eight percent in 1980. Hispanic male skilled craft employment, which was close to that of blacks in the earlier year, did not change much in 1980. In the utilities and transportation skilled craft category, black males increased their representation from 10.4 to 13.8 percent. In sanitation and sewage, a high skilled craft representation of black males, amounting to over 20 percent in 1973, rose another two percentage points in 1980.

The following tabulation compares the participation rates of black and Hispanic males in skilled craft and service-maintenance job categories of state and local governments with those in private industry and construction. The service-maintenance category in state and local government functions is equivalent to semi-skilled operatives and unskilled laborers in private industry, and laborers in construction.

	(% of total employment, 1980[b]) Skilled craft		Service-maintenance	
	Black males	Hispanic males	Black males	Hispanic males
State & Local Gov't.				
Streets & Hgwys.	7.9	4.5	16.7	4.4
Utils. & Transp.	13.8	5.4	31.7	7.9
Sanit. & Sewage	22.2	6.3	40.4	8.4
Private Industry[c]	7.1	4.5	10.3[e]	4.6[f]
			12.9[g]	8.4[h]
Construction[i]	5.0[j]	5.5[j]	23.2[j]	14.5[j]

[a] See Table III-3.
[b] See Table IV-6. Construction figures are for 1978 and for referral union membership, not employment.
[c] Semi-skilled operatives.
[d] Unskilled laborers.
[e] All construction unions, except laborers.
[f] Laborers union.

Table V-1. Minorities as Percent of Total Full-Time Employees in the Various Pay Systems of the Federal Government, Compared with Private Industry, 1970 and 1980.

	% of Total Employment											
	Federal Government								Private Industry			
	All Pay Systems		General Schedule		Wage Systems		Postal Service		All Job Category		White Collar Jobs 1/	
Minority Groups	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970
All Employees	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
All Minority Groups	23.5	19.6	20.8	14.7	29.7	28.6	26.6	22.9	18.9	14.6	12.9	7.6
Blacks	17.0	15.2	14.5	11.1	20.7	20.5	21.3	19.4	11.6	10.1	7.4	4.7
Hispanics	4.1	2.9	3.6	1.9	6.3	5.8	3.9	2.7	5.4	3.6	3.3	1.9
Asians	1.3	0.8	1.3	0.8	1.2	1.2	1.2	0.6	1.5	0.6	1.8	0.8
American Indians	1.2	0.7	1.4	0.9	1.5	1.3	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.2

1/ Consist of officials and managers, professionals, technicians, sales workers, and office and clerical workers.

Sources: Federal government statistics obtained from U.S. Office of Personnel Management; U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Equal Employment Opportunity Report: Job Patterns for Minorities and Women in Private Industry, 1980, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., April 1982, and Equal Employment Opportunity Report, 1970: Job Patterns for Minorities and Women in Private Industry, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1972.

Table V-2. Minorities and Females as a Percent of Full-Time Employees in the Federal Government's General Schedule, by Grade, 1970 and 1980.

			Percent of Total											
					Minority Groups									
General Schedule and Equivalent Grade	Total Number of Employees		Females		All		Black		Hispanic		Asian		American Indian	
	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970
Total	1,455,528	1,283,991	45.3	40.9	20.8	14.7	14.5	11.1	3.6	1.9	1.3	0.8	1.4	0.9
GS-1	3,151	1,751	73.7	64.2	48.7	53.4	36.8	45.8	8.7	4.6	1.3	0.5	2.0	2.5
GS-2	17,596	22,421	76.7	76.0	39.7	36.7	30.8	31.0	5.4	2.9	0.9	0.5	2.6	2.3
GS-3	82,539	104,741	76.7	78.2	33.9	30.7	24.1	24.7	5.3	3.2	1.1	0.6	3.3	2.1
GS-4	170,653	166,077	77.5	75.2	31.5	24.8	23.1	19.3	4.6	3.0	1.0	0.7	2.9	1.8
GS-5	192,072	154,524	71.1	70.2	28.3	21.4	21.4	16.9	4.3	2.7	1.1	0.8	1.6	1.0
GS-6	89,303	79,953	72.8	63.8	28.1	18.2	22.0	14.9	3.8	2.0	1.1	0.8	1.2	0.5
GS-7	132,926	111,851	53.9	42.7	22.7	13.9	16.1	10.1	4.3	2.2	1.3	0.8	1.1	0.7
GS-8	30,690	27,604	52.6	39.5	23.0	13.0	18.5	10.2	2.9	1.5	0.9	0.9	0.7	0.3
GS-9	160,837	151,073	41.2	28.0	18.6	10.0	11.4	6.6	4.1	1.8	1.7	1.0	1.5	0.6
GS-10	28,858	19,365	37.9	16.5	16.6	6.0	10.3	3.6	4.4	1.1	1.1	1.1	0.7	0.2
GS-11	163,892	146,102	24.5	12.8	14.3	6.9	8.8	4.3	2.9	1.2	1.6	1.0	1.0	0.4
GS-12	167,393	125,006	14.4	7.3	11.4	5.2	6.8	3.0	2.4	1.0	1.5	0.9	0.7	0.3
GS-13	117,147	94,628	9.6	4.6	9.1	4.2	5.3	2.5	1.8	0.7	1.4	0.8	0.5	0.2
GS-14	63,847	46,239	6.8	3.6	7.6	3.9	4.5	2.0	1.5	0.7	1.2	0.9	0.5	0.2
GS-15	34,619	27,069	6.5	3.4	8.0	3.3	3.9	1.7	1.9	0.7	1.9	0.7	0.3	0.2
Executive Level 1/	8,419	5,586	6.2	1.5	7.0	2.3	5.0	1.6	1.1	0.3	0.5	0.3	0.4	0.1

1/ Executive pay, now a separate system, was included in the GS schedule in 1971 as GS-16, GS-17, and GS-18.

Source: Statistics obtained from the U.S. Office of Personnel Management.

Table V-3. Percent Grade Distributions of Full-Time Federal Government Employees, by GS Grade, Race, Ethnicity, and Sex, 1970 and 1980.

	All Employees		Race and Ethnicity										Sex			
			White		Minority Groups								Male		Female	
					All		Black		Hispanic		Asian	American Indian				
	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
GS 1-4	18.8	23.1	15.9	19.5	29.8	43.8	31.1	46.2	25.8	36.7	14.7	18.2	40.1	52.7	7.9	9.2	32.0	42.8
GS 5-8	30.6	29.2	28.5	28.2	38.6	35.3	41.6	36.7	35.0	34.4	26.2	28.3	28.3	26.8	19.6	20.9	43.8	42.1
GS 9-11	24.3	24.8	25.6	26.6	19.3	13.9	16.9	11.8	24.3	19.2	30.0	29.7	20.6	13.8	29.7	32.8	17.8	12.0
GS 12-13	19.5	17.2	22.1	19.2	9.8	5.6	8.4	4.3	11.8	7.6	21.7	17.8	8.8	5.2	31.3	27.6	5.4	2.6
GS 14-15	6.8	5.7	7.9	6.5	2.5	1.4	2.0	1.0	3.1	2.1	7.4	6.0	2.2	1.5	11.5	9.4	1.0	0.5

Note: Does not include Executive Grades.

Source: Data obtained from the U.S. Office of Personnel Management.

Table V-4. Average GS Grades of Full-Time Federal Employees, by Race, Ethnicity, and Sex, 1970 and 1980.

	Average GS Grade		
	1980	1970	Percent Increase
By Race and Ethnicity:			
White	8.7	8.3	4.8
Minority Groups:			
All	6.8	5.8	17.2
Blacks	6.5	5.5	18.2
Hispanics	7.3	6.4	14.1
Asians	8.9	8.4	6.0
American Indians	6.5	5.6	16.1
By Sex:			
Male	10.1	9.7	4.1
Female	6.3	5.5	14.5

Source: Data obtained from the Office of Personnel Management.

Table V-5. Employment and Average Salaries of Full-Time Federal Government Employees by Occupation, Sex, Race, and Ethnicity, 1979.

Occupational Categories	Employment				Average Salaries							
	Total No.	% of Total			White	Black		Hispanic		Male	Female	
		Black	Hispanic	Female	$	$	% of White	$	% of White	$	$	% of Male
Professional	315,318	5.6	2.0	22.6	28,897	24,358	84.3	26,043	90.1	30,635	21,100	68.9
Administrative 1/	419,663	3.8	2.8	24.2	26,353	23,669	89.8	23,328	88.5	27,511	21,281	77.4
Technical	329,229	10.7	3.7	40.5	17,437	15,112	86.7	16,047	92.0	18,394	14,611	79.4
Clerical: Including Postal	821,649	21.2	3.9	50.4	15,087	14,641	97.0	14,461	95.9	16,893	13,027	77.1
: Excluding Postal	402,732	21.7	4.1	85.6	12,299	11,934	97.0	11,714	95.3	13,324	12,179	91.4
Other	40,277	19.2	6.8	8.0	14,140	13,074	93.1	13,443	95.7	14,141	10,645	75.3

1/ Includes approximately 34,000 postal employees.

Source: U.S. Office of Personnel Management, Equal Employment Opportunity Statistics, (SM 70-79B), U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., November 1979, Appendix III, pp. 570-614.

Table V-6. Participation Rates of Minorities in General Schedule Jobs in the Federal Government by Civil Service Region, 1971 and 1979.

Region 1/	Total GS Employment 1979 (000's)	% of Total Employment									
		All Minorities		Black		Hispanic		Asian		American Indian	
		1979	1971	1979	1971	1979	1971	1979	1971	1979	1971
Southeast (Atlanta)	209	13.1	7.5	11.5	6.7	1.1	0.5	0.3	0.1	0.3	0.2
New England (Boston)	50	5.7	4.2	4.3	3.5	0.8	0.3	0.5	0.3	0.1	0.1
Great Lakes (Chicago)	154	19.1	16.5	17.1	15.4	1.0	0.5	0.6	0.4	0.4	0.2
Southwest (Dallas)	145	25.3	18.2	8.4	5.2	12.2	9.5	0.4	0.2	4.3	3.2
Rocky Mountain (Denver)	66	12.3	8.9	2.9	2.4	3.8	2.8	0.8	0.7	4.7	3.0
Eastern (New York)	92	19.6	15.4	15.5	13.1	3.0	1.6	1.1	0.6	0.1	0.1
Mid Atlantic (Philadelphia)	154	19.2	15.8	18.1	15.2	0.5	0.3	0.4	0.2	0.1	0.1
Mid Continent (St. Louis)	62	13.9	11.1	11.8	9.8	1.1	0.6	0.4	0.3	0.6	0.4
Western (San Francisco)	162	25.3	18.2	10.6	8.3	6.3	4.0	4.9	3.5	3.5	2.4
Northwest (Seattle)	57	10.2	6.2	3.0	2.3	1.5	0.6	1.9	1.2	3.8	2.1
District of Columbia (Washington) 2/	245	27.8	22.8	25.6	21.4	1.0	0.6	1.0	0.6	0.2	0.2
United States Total	1,431	19.9	15.2	13.9	11.3	3.3	2.2	1.2	0.9	1.4	0.9

1/ The headquarters city of each region is shown in parentheses.

2/ District of Columbia figures cover the Washington SMSA.

Sources: U.S. Office of Personnel Management, Equal Employment Opportunity Statistics, (SM 70-79B), U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., November 1979, Appendix II; U.S. Civil Service Commission, Minority Group Employment in the Federal Government, (SM 70-71B), U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., November 1971, Appendix 5, pp. 624-645.

Table V-7. Black and Hispanic Employment as Percent of Total Employment in General Schedule Jobs in Selected Federal Government Agencies, Listed in Descending Order of Total Employment, Grouped by GS Grades, 1971 and 1979.

Federal Agency	Total GS Employment (000's)		% of Total Employment											
			All Grades				Grades: GS-1 thru GS-8				Grades: GS-9 thru GS-15			
			Black		Hispanic		Black		Hispanic		Black		Hispanic	
	1979	1971	1979	1971	1979	1971	1979	1971	1979	1971	1979	1971	1979	1971
Department of Defense	554	593	10.0	7.7	3.5	2.4	18.5	11.5	5.9	3.3	5.3	3.4	2.3	1.4
Army	222	235	10.0	8.3	3.2	2.2	13.5	11.9	4.0	2.8	5.3	3.7	2.2	1.3
Navy	150	158	11.2	8.[illegible]	2.2	1.3	17.5	12.8	2.9	1.7	5.1	3.1	1.5	0.9
Air Force	129	151	6.6	4.8	6.1	4.5	8.9	6.7	7.8	6.2	3.8	2.5	4.0	2.5
Defense Supply Agency	35	38	17.9	14.5	2.0	0.9	25.8	24.6	2.5	1.2	10.1	6.4	1.5	0.7
Off. of Sec'y of Defense	18	11	10.0	6.6	1.6	1.5	16.1	12.7	1.9	2.5	7.0	3.3	1.4	1.0
Health, Education, & Welfare	133	96	22.7	22.0	3.5	1.8	30.5	30.4	3.7	2.2	14.0	9.0	3.3	1.4
Treasury	108	88	15.6	12.0	3.7	1.7	23.3	19.2	4.7	2.1	7.5	4.1	2.7	1.3
Agriculture	85	83	6.7	5.9	2.7	1.4	9.2	9.1	3.5	2.2	4.5	2.7	2.0	0.7
Transportation	64	61	8.5	5.8	2.3	1.1	20.6	16.8	3.1	1.5	5.4	2.7	2.1	0.9
Interior 1/	56	51	3.8	3.7	2.4	1.8	5.1	5.5	3.1	2.6	2.6	2.1	1.7	1.0
Justice	49	40	16.7	9.4	5.6	2.5	27.5	15.1	6.3	3.5	6.5	2.5	5.0	1.2
Commerce	29	27	17.9	15.2	2.0	0.7	31.9	29.1	2.1	0.8	9.3	5.8	2.0	0.7
Labor	21	12	21.5	27.3	3.6	2.0	36.6	46.3	4.1	2.0	12.3	13.9	3.2	2.0
National Air and Space Admin.	21	20	6.2	2.8	1.9	0.6	17.2	6.7	3.5	0.6	3.1	1.7	1.5	0.6
General Services Admin.	20	27	26.6	24.2	2.9	1.8	35.5	33.4	3.4	2.3	13.8	7.1	2.1	0.9
Housing and Urban Development	16	16	22.9	19.4	4.2	1.8	33.5	35.5	6.5	2.5	16.0	9.0	2.7	1.3
All Federal Agencies	1,431	1,315	13.9	11.3	3.3	2.0	20.7	17.8	4.1	2.7	7.3	4.3	2.5	1.3

1/ American Indian employment in Department of Interior was 19.6 percent in 1979, and total minority employment was 26.6 percent.

Sources: U.S. Office of Personnel Management, Equal Employment Opportunity Statistics, (SM 70-79B), U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., November 1979, Appendix I; U.S. Civil Service Commission, Minority Group Employment in the Federal Government, (SM 70-71B), U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., November 1971, Appendix 2.

Table V-8. Participation Rates of Full-Time Minority and Female State and Local Government Employees, 1973 and 1980.

Job Category	Total Employment (000's)		Participation Rates (% of total employment)											
			Minority Groups											
			All		Black		Hispanic		Asian		American Indian		Total Female	
	1980	1973	1980	1973	1980	1973	1980	1973	1980	1973	1980	1973	1980	1973
Total	3,987.4	3,808.5	21.1	17.8	15.5	13.7	4.1	3.3	1.1	0.6	0.4	0.3	41.1	34.7
Officials/Administrators	205.5	245.3	9.1	6.6	5.7	4.7	2.3	1.4	0.7	0.3	0.4	0.2	23.0	17.7
Professionals	764.8	598.7	14.5	11.3	9.0	7.4	2.7	2.0	2.4	1.6	0.4	0.3	44.2	37.7
Technicians	400.4	353.6	16.6	13.7	11.7	10.3	3.4	2.5	1.1	0.6	0.4	0.3	38.8	29.4
Protective Service	527.9	549.4	14.1	6.7	10.2	7.1	3.3	2.2	0.3	0.1	0.4	0.2	6.7	3.2
Paraprofessionals	349.1	319.4	32.1	30.4	27.4	25.9	3.5	3.8	0.7	0.3	0.5	0.3	70.0	65.4
Office/Clerical	732.4	718.4	20.5	16.9	14.2	12.5	4.6	3.4	1.2	0.7	0.4	0.2	88.5	84.5
Skilled Craft	329.0	330.4	18.1	14.1	12.1	9.5	4.9	4.0	0.5	0.3	0.6	0.3	4.2	4.4
Service/Maintenance	658.4	693.5	37.3	33.2	29.6	27.1	6.6	5.6	0.5	0.2	0.5	0.3	21.0	14.6

Sources: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Job Patterns for Minorities and Women in State and Local Government, 1980, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1982; and Minorities and Women in State and Local Government, 1973, Vol. 1, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1974.

Table V-9. Participation Rates of Minority Groups and Women for All Employees and White-Collar Employees 1/ of State and Local Governments, Compared with the Federal Government and Private Industry, 1980.

	% of All Employees		
	State and Local	Federal	Private Industry
All Employees:			
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Minority Groups: All	21.1	23.5	18.9
Black	15.5	17.0	11.6
Hispanic	4.1	4.1	5.4
Asian	1.0	1.3	1.5
American Indian	0.4	1.2	0.4
Female: All	41.1	32.9	41.0
White-Collar Employees: 1/			
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Minority Groups: All	18.7	20.8	12.9
Black	13.4	14.5	7.4
Hispanic	3.5	3.6	3.3
Asian	1.4	1.3	1.8
American Indian	0.4	1.4	0.4
Female: All	58.7	45.3	43.9

1/ White-collar employees include the following job categories:

State and local : Officials/administrators, professionals, technicians, paraprofessionals, office/clerical.
Federal : All General Schedule employees.
Private Industry: Officials and managers, professionals, technicians, sales workers, office and clerical workers.

Sources: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Job Patterns for Minorities and Women in State and Local Governments, 1980, Washington, D.C., 1982; and Job Patterns for Minorities and Women in Private Industry, 1980, Vol. 1, Washington, D.C., 1982; and Statistics obtained from U.S. Office of Personnel Management.

Table V-10. Participation Rates [1] of Male and Female Full-Time State and Local Government Employees by Race, and Ethnicity, 1973 and 1980.

	Participation Rates [1] (% of total employment)															
	Male								Female							
	White		All Minorities		Black		Hispanic		White		All Minorities		Black		Hispanic	
Job Category	1980	1973	1980	1973	1980	1973	1980	1973	1980	1973	1980	1973	1980	1973	1980	1973
Total	47.7	55.0	11.2	10.3	7.9	7.5	2.5	2.3	31.2	27.2	9.8	7.6	7.6	6.2	1.5	1.0
Officials/Administrators	70.9	77.5	6.1	4.8	3.6	3.2	1.7	1.2	20.0	15.9	3.0	1.8	2.1	0.2	0.6	0.1
Professionals	49.3	57.0	6.5	5.4	3.4	3.0	1.6	1.3	36.2	31.8	8.0	5.9	5.6	4.4	1.1	0.7
Technicians	53.8	64.6	7.5	6.0	4.5	3.6	2.1	1.7	29.6	21.7	9.2	7.7	7.2	6.7	1.3	0.7
Protective Service	81.2	87.8	12.1	9.0	8.5	6.5	3.0	2.2	4.8	2.5	1.8	0.8	1.6	0.7	0.2	0.1
Paraprofessionals	21.5	26.2	8.6	8.4	6.9	6.4	1.2	1.7	46.4	43.5	23.6	21.9	20.6	19.5	2.3	2.0
Office/Clerical	9.0	12.9	2.6	2.6	1.7	1.9	0.6	0.6	70.5	70.2	18.0	14.2	12.5	10.6	4.1	2.8
Skilled Craft	78.7	82.6	17.2	13.0	11.4	8.6	4.7	3.9	3.2	3.3	0.8	1.1	0.7	1.0	0.1	0.1
Service/Maintenance	50.8	58.1	28.2	27.3	21.8	21.8	5.6	5.0	11.9	8.7	9.1	5.9	7.9	5.3	1.0	0.6

1/ Based on all employees in each job category (sum of male white and all minorities and female white and all minorities) equalling 100.0 percent. See Table V-8 for total employment figures by job catetory.

Sources: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Job Patterns for Minorities and Women in State and Local Government, 1980, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1982; and Minorities and Women in State and Local Government, 1973, Vol. 1, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1974.

Table V-11. Comparison of Participation Rates and Occupational Distributions of Minorities and Women for All Full-Time Employees and for New Hires in State and Local Governments, 1980.

					Minority Groups									
	All Employees		All Females		All		Blacks		Hispanics		Asians		American Indians	
Job Category	All Full Time	New Hires	All Full Time	New Hires	All Full Time	New Hires	All Full Time	New Hires	All Full Time	New Hires	All Full Time	New Hires	All Full Time	New Hires
	Participation Rates (% of all employees)													
Total	100.0	100.0	41.1	50.5	21.1	26.4	15.5	18.6	4.1	5.6	1.1	1.6	0.4	0.6
Officials/Administrators	100.0	100.0	23.0	29.6	9.1	11.5	5.7	7.1	2.3	2.5	0.7	1.5	0.4	0.4
Professionals	100.0	100.0	44.2	58.1	14.5	16.0	9.0	10.1	2.7	2.9	2.4	2.5	0.4	0.5
Technicians	100.0	100.0	38.8	54.8	16.6	20.4	11.7	12.0	3.4	5.5	1.1	2.4	0.4	0.5
Protective Service	100.0	100.0	6.7	17.0	14.2	22.4	10.2	15.8	3.3	5.1	0.3	1.0	0.4	0.5
Paraprofessionals	100.0	100.0	70.0	66.1	32.1	32.2	27.4	24.1	3.5	5.7	0.7	1.8	0.5	0.6
Office/Clerical	100.0	100.0	88.5	85.8	20.4	24.2	14.2	16.3	4.6	5.8	1.2	1.5	0.4	0.6
Skilled Craft	100.0	100.0	4.2	13.8	18.1	23.1	12.1	14.0	4.9	6.4	0.5	2.0	0.6	0.7
Service/Maintenance	100.0	100.0	21.0	24.2	37.2	39.1	29.6	29.6	6.6	7.6	0.5	1.0	0.5	0.9
	Occupational Distributions (% of total in column)													
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Officials/Administrators	5.2	1.8	2.9	1.1	2.2	0.8	1.9	0.7	2.9	0.8	3.4	1.7	4.4	1.1
Professionals	19.2	14.7	20.6	16.9	13.1	8.9	11.2	8.0	12.6	7.6	42.8	22.4	15.4	11.2
Technicians	10.0	9.7	9.5	10.5	7.9	7.5	7.6	6.3	8.3	9.5	10.7	14.4	9.1	7.9
Protective Service	13.2	10.3	2.1	3.5	8.8	8.6	8.7	8.7	10.6	9.3	3.4	6.0	10.9	8.2
Paraprofessionals	8.8	14.1	14.9	18.5	13.3	17.2	15.5	18.3	7.6	14.3	5.5	15.2	9.8	13.2
Office/Clerical	18.9	22.2	40.7	37.7	18.4	20.3	17.3	19.5	21.5	22.8	22.1	20.3	18.7	22.0
Skilled Craft	8.3	5.7	0.8	1.6	7.1	5.0	6.4	4.3	9.9	6.5	3.6	6.9	11.9	6.7
Service/Maintenance	16.5	21.5	8.4	10.3	29.2	31.7	31.5	34.2	26.6	29.1	8.5	13.2	19.8	29.6

Source: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Job Patterns for Minorities and Women in State and Local Government, 1980, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1982.

Table V-12. Median Annual Salaries of Full-Time State and Local Government Employees by Sex, Race, and Ethnicity, as a Percent of White Male Salaries, 1973 and 1980.

Job Category	Median Salaries of White Males (dollars)	% of White Male Salaries									
		Male					Female				
		White	Black	Hispanic	Asian	American Indian	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian	American Indian
		1980									
Total	15,627	100.0	79.2	87.2	124.3	92.1	74.0	69.1	69.5	91.3	73.0
Officials/Administrators	23,189	100.0	95.5	94.8	119.1	99.4	74.8	81.4	69.0	99.3	72.3
Professionals	20,099	100.0	87.3	94.1	112.4	98.5	78.1	76.9	78.1	97.6	81.9
Technicians	15,786	100.0	86.5	93.7	111.2	96.3	74.8	73.4	75.7	87.0	79.5
Protective Service	16,454	100.0	90.0	96.8	115.4	93.8	77.8	81.6	79.7	105.9	76.9
Paraprofessionals	11,845	100.0	86.9	97.0	114.5	91.3	84.7	82.6	82.5	98.2	98.2
Office/Clerical	11,975	100.0	95.4	93.1	101.8	96.1	87.1	85.7	86.1	99.1	87.3
Skilled Craft	14,311	100.0	94.6	97.7	135.3	99.5	74.5	72.8	63.4	80.4	71.5
Service/Maintenance	11,936	100.0	90.2	94.8	112.2	95.1	77.7	76.5	75.6	83.8	76.3
		1973									
Total	9,873	100.0	80.1	80.8	128.0	88.9	71.6	69.7	66.2	92.3	67.6
Officials/Administrators	13,007	100.0	100.8	91.7	136.0	101.3	80.1	88.0	69.6	95.8	75.3
Professionals	12,586	100.0	92.2	93.5	117.8	93.0	80.6	85.4	83.7	92.4	80.4
Technicians	10,108	100.0	89.1	91.4	119.4	97.7	72.4	73.3	69.5	93.3	72.0
Protective Service	10,804	100.0	97.5	95.1	111.4	87.9	69.8	81.8	74.8	74.0	62.1
Paraprofessionals	7,506	100.0	92.5	93.2	131.9	94.0	81.1	85.0	79.9	94.4	73.0
Office/Clerical	7,718	100.0	101.8	91.6	102.2	93.1	85.3	89.4	83.2	97.4	83.8
Skilled Craft	9,100	100.0	95.0	90.5	129.7	99.0	63.3	61.7	61.8	75.7	56.9
Service/Maintenance	7,509	100.0	91.9	90.9	114.5	89.4	74.2	73.0	71.9	85.8	77.4

Sources: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Job Patterns for Minorities and Women in State and Local Government, 1980, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1982; and Minorities and Women In State and Local Government, 1973, Vol. I, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1974.

Table V-13. Comparison of Minority Employment in State and Local Governments, 1980, with Federal Government, 1979, by U.S. Civil Service Region.

U. S. Civil Service Region 1/	% of Total Employment					
	State and Local Governments - 1980			Federal Government - 1979		
	All Minorities	Black	Hispanic	All Minorities	Black	Hispanic
Southeast (Atlanta)	26.5	24.8	1.2	13.1	11.5	1.1
New England (Boston)	7.3	5.C	1.2	5.7	4.3	0.8
Great Lakes (Chicago)	18.0	15.9	1.2	19.1	17.1	1.0
Southwest (Dallas)	34.7	17.5	15.5	25.3	8.4	12.2
Rocky Mountain (Denver)	9.3	1.8	6.1	12.3	2.9	3.8
Eastern (New York)	16.5	13.9	1.8	19.6	15.5	3.0
Mid Atlantic (Philadelphia)	18.4	17.1	0.5	19.5	18.1	0.5
Mid Continent (St. Louis)	9.6	7.9	1.0	13.9	11.8	1.1
Western (San Francisco)	29.7	12.1	11.8	25.3	10.6	6.3
Northwest (Seattle)	7.8	2.8	1.4	10.2	3.0	1.5
District of Columbia (Washington)	N/A	N/A	N/A	27.8	25.6	1.0

N/A Not available.

1/ The headquarters city of each region is shown in parentheses.

Sources: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Job Patterns for Minorities and Women in State and Local Governments, 1980, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1982; U.S. Office of Personnel Management, Equal Employment Opportunity Statistics, (SM 70-798), U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., November 1979, Appendix II.

Table V-14(a). State and Local Governments: Participation Rates for Selected Functions of Full-Time, Year-Round Employees by Job Category, Sex, Race, and Ethnicity, 1973 and 1980.

Function 01: Financial Administration, General Control

Job Category	Participation Rate (% of total employment)												Occupational Distribution			
	Male						Female						All Male		All Female	
	White		Black		Hispanic		White		Black		Hispanic					
	1980	1973	1980	1973	1980	1973	1980	1973	1980	1973	1980	1973	1980	1973	1980	1973
Total	36.4	42.1	4.2	3.4	1.6	1.1	46.7	46.5	6.9	4.3	2.4	1.4	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Officials/Administrators	67.5	74.5	2.9	2.2	1.7	1.0	24.2	20.3	1.8	1.0	0.8	0.3	15.1	19.1	4.3	4.8
Professionals	61.4	76.5	3.8	3.0	1.8	1.3	25.9	15.5	3.8	1.6	0.8	0.3	34.7	28.5	12.0	5.5
Technicians	53.8	73.6	4.0	3.2	2.6	2.0	31.4	17.8	3.8	1.5	1.7	0.5	12.3	13.7	5.7	3.1
Protective Service	72.8	79.8	8.9	6.4	2.6	2.0	12.2	9.6	2.3	0.9	0.6	0.3	4.5	4.4	0.6	0.5
Paraprofessionals	30.9	39.0	4.7	5.6	1.8	1.4	47.1	43.4	10.7	8.5	2.8	1.1	3.9	2.8	4.7	2.9
Office/Clerical	8.8	12.8	1.4	1.3	0.5	0.4	73.6	75.7	10.0	6.2	3.9	2.3	11.3	15.6	69.2	80.5
Skilled Craft	72.6	76.3	9.1	6.5	4.3	2.3	11.3	12.7	1.1	0.8	0.2	0.5	6.4	5.2	0.7	0.8
Service/Maintenance	48.1	56.5	21.4	21.6	5.1	3.9	13.6	9.7	9.1	6.7	1.2	0.5	11.8	10.5	4.9	1.9

Note: Participation rates shown for each year, together with figures for Asians and American Indians not shown, total 100.0 percent. Occupational distributions by sex are included to indicate the relative numerical importance of each job category.

Sources: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Job Patterns for Minorities and Women in State and Local Government, 1980, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1982; and Minorities and Women in State and Local Government, 1973, Vol. 1, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1974.

Table V-14(b). State and Local Governments: Participation Rates for Selected Functions of Full-Time, Year-Round Employees by Job Category, Sex, Race, and Ethnicity, 1973 and 1980.

Function 02: Streets and Highways

Job Category	Participation Rate (% of total employment)												Occupational Distribution			
	Male						Female						All Male		All Female	
	White		Black		Hispanic		White		Black		Hispanic					
	1980	1973	1980	1973	1980	1973	1980	1973	1980	1973	1980	1973	1980	1973	1980	1973
Total	76.1	81.8	9.1	7.1	3.5	3.0	8.5	6.4	1.1	0.4	0.3	0.1	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Officials/Administrators	92.4	93.5	2.3	1.7	1.9	1.3	2.5	2.6	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	4.0	4.8	1.0	1.8
Professionals	85.4	91.4	1.9	0.9	1.9	1.4	5.9	2.7	0.5	0.1	0.2	0.0	10.4	9.2	6.9	3.6
Technicians	84.7	90.9	3.6	2.3	2.8	2.2	6.7	3.0	0.5	0.1	0.2	0.1	12.7	13.8	9.4	5.9
Protective Service	84.6	91.5	7.1	4.2	1.2	1.1	5.6	2.5	0.9	0.3	0.0	0.1	0.8	1.0	0.5	0.4
Paraprofessionals	72.7	80.4	7.0	2.7	3.1	3.4	12.6	11.1	3.1	1.0	0.4	0.2	1.8	3.2	3.1	5.8
Office/Clerical	19.7	32.1	1.9	1.5	0.7	0.5	66.8	59.7	7.1	3.4	2.2	1.3	2.2	3.1	67.8	76.5
Skilled Craft	85.8	89.7	7.9	5.0	4.5	4.2	0.5	0.4	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.0	29.7	26.3	2.2	1.9
Service/Maintenance	75.4	80.5	16.7	14.2	4.4	3.7	1.8	0.5	0.7	0.2	0.1	0.0	38.3	38.7	9.1	4.0

Note: Participation rates shown for each year, together with figures for Asians and American Indians not shown, total 100.0 percent. Occupational distributions by sex are included to indicate the relative numerical importance of each job category.

Sources: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Job Patterns for Minorities and Women in State and Local Government, 1980, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1982; and Minorities and Women in State and Local Government, 1973, Vol. 1, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1974.

Table V-14(c). State and Local Governments: Participation Rates for Selected Functions of Full-Time, Year-Round Employees by Job Category, Sex, Race, and Ethnicity, 1973 and 1980.

Function 03: Public Welfare

Job Category	Participation Rate (% of total employment)												Occupational Distribution			
	Male						Female						All Male		All Female	
	White		Black		Hispanic		White		Black		Hispanic					
	1980	1973	1980	1973	1980	1973	1980	1973	1980	1973	1980	1973	1980	1973	1980	1973
Total	19.5	22.8	3.0	3.8	1.3	1.2	55.4	53.6	16.0	15.3	3.3	2.2	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Officials/Administrators	46.5	48.6	3.6	3.4	2.5	1.2	39.3	40.4	5.6	5.1	1.3	0.4	11.2	11.9	3.1	4.0
Professionals	28.5	32.7	2.9	3.5	1.6	1.5	52.2	51.9	11.7	8.1	1.9	1.1	52.2	44.4	33.1	28.0
Technicians	21.1	23.7	3.1	4.1	1.5	0.8	53.9	54.8	13.7	14.1	4.1	1.4	8.1	3.7	7.2	3.5
Protective Service	53.7	58.1	10.4	20.0	3.2	3.5	25.4	13.4	6.0	4.3	0.4	0.3	1.9	2.2	0.3	0.2
Paraprofessionals	11.7	17.6	3.3	4.4	0.8	1.0	57.0	53.2	22.9	20.8	3.0	2.0	10.9	16.6	18.1	21.4
Office/Clerical	4.2	6.3	1.6	2.0	0.6	0.7	65.0	63.2	20.9	22.3	5.9	4.2	8.1	10.3	35.0	39.6
Skilled Craft	51.6	70.5	6.1	6.6	1.7	1.1	29.6	15.4	9.5	3.7	0.9	0.6	1.8	4.8	0.4	0.5
Service/Maintenance	26.4	28.7	10.6	13.7	2.3	3.4	43.4	37.0	14.7	14.7	1.9	1.5	5.9	6.1	2.9	2.8

Note: Participation rates shown for each year, together with figures for Asians and American Indians not shown, total 100.0 percent. Occupational distributions by sex are included to indicate the relative numerical importance of each job category.

Sources: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Job Patterns for Minorities and Women in State and Local Government, 1980, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1982; and Minorities and Women in State and Local Government, 1973, Vol. I, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1974.

Table V-14(d). State and Local Governments: Participation Rates for Selected Functions of Full-Time, Year-Round Employees by Job Category, Sex, Race, and Ethnicity, 1973 and 1980.

Function 04: Police Protection

Job Category	Participation Rate (% of total employment)												Occupational Distribution			
	Male						Female						All Male		All Female	
	White		Black		Hispanic		White		Black		Hispanic					
	1980	1973	1980	1973	1980	1973	1980	1973	1980	1973	1980	1973	1980	1973	1980	1973
Total	71.2	80.6	5.4	5.0	2.4	1.9	15.1	10.0	2.5	1.4	0.8	0.4	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Officials/Administrators	90.2	93.0	3.1	4.0	1.3	1.7	4.2	2.6	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.0	3.1	2.9	0.7	0.6
Professionals	86.8	91.8	3.4	3.1	1.4	1.2	6.5	2.8	0.9	0.3	0.2	0.1	7.5	6.9	2.7	1.7
Technicians	79.1	88.6	4.1	3.0	1.7	1.5	12.5	5.8	1.5	0.5	0.5	0.1	10.7	9.3	8.0	4.8
Protective Service	83.9	89.1	6.4	5.6	2.9	2.2	4.7	2.2	1.1	0.4	0.2	0.0	72.5	74.5	20.8	14.8
Paraprofessionals	50.0	67.4	5.3	6.1	2.5	1.4	33.9	19.1	5.6	4.2	1.7	0.7	1.3	1.3	4.0	3.0
Office/Clerical	12.0	15.6	0.9	1.3	0.6	0.7	71.1	69.1	10.1	8.7	4.0	2.9	2.2	2.2	61.1	72.6
Skilled Craft	78.3	82.6	6.3	6.3	2.9	2.3	9.8	6.0	1.5	0.7	0.3	0.0	1.1	1.1	0.6	0.6
Service/Maintenance	54.5	58.6	18.9	22.8	3.9	4.4	14.2	8.8	6.6	4.1	0.7	0.1	1.7	1.6	2.0	1.8

Note: Participation rates shown for each year, together with figures for Asians and American Indians not shown, total 100.0 percent. Occupational distributions by sex are included to indicate the relative numerical importance of each job category.

Sources: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Job Patterns for Minorities and Women in State and Local Government, 1980, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1982; and Minorities and Women in State and Local Government, 1973, Vol. I, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1974.

Table V-14(e). State and Local Governments: Participation Rates for Selected Functions of Full-Time, Year-Round Employees by Job Category, Sex, Race, and Ethnicity, 1973 and 1980.

Function 05: Fire Protection

Job Category	Participation Rate (% of total employment)												Occupational Distribution			
	Male						Female						All Male		All Female	
	White		Black		Hispanic		White		Black		Hispanic					
	1980	1973	1980	1973	1980	1973	1980	1973	1980	1973	1980	1973	1980	1973	1980	1973
Total	88.8	93.8	5.3	2.9	2.7	1.4	2.1	1.1	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Officials/Administrators	96.1	97.7	1.2	0.8	1.5	1.1	0.4	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	4.3	4.4	0.9	0.6
Professionals	95.4	97.1	1.9	1.4	1.9	1.0	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	17.1	16.0	2.9	1.2
Technicians	90.9	94.7	3.8	1.8	1.8	1.6	2.3	1.2	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.0	8.5	6.7	9.2	6.4
Protective Service	88.9	94.3	6.8	3.4	3.3	1.5	0.3	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	65.8	68.1	9.9	1.7
Paraprofessionals	85.3	84.8	4.7	7.8	1.6	4.6	5.6	1.6	1.8	0.1	0.9	0.0	1.3	1.3	4.4	1.6
Office/Clerical	22.4	36.2	1.2	1.7	0.8	0.5	64.0	52.5	7.4	4.6	4.2	2.6	0.6	0.7	69.7	84.1
Skilled Craft	93.3	93.7	3.3	2.0	2.0	0.9	1.1	2.9	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.7	1.6	0.7	1.6
Service/Maintenance	74.1	91.1	12.7	6.0	4.7	1.8	6.6	0.5	1.1	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.7	1.3	1.2	0.8

Note: Participation rates shown for each year, together with figures for Asians and American Indians not shown, total 100.0 percent. Occupational distributions by sex are included to indicate the relative numerical importance of each job category.

Sources: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Job Patterns for Minorities and Women in State and Local Government, 1980, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1982; and Minorities and Women in State and Local Government, 1973, Vol. I, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1974.

Table V-14(f). State and Local Governments: Participation Rates for Selected Functions of Full-Time, Year-Round Employees by Job Category, Sex, Race, and Ethnicity, 1973 and 1980.

Function 07: Hospitals and Sanitoriums

Job Category	Participation Rate (% of total employment)												Occupational Distribution			
	Male						Female						All Male		All Female	
	White		Black		Hispanic		White		Black		Hispanic					
	1980	1973	1980	1973	1980	1973	1980	1973	1980	1973	1980	1973	1980	1973	1980	1973
Total	19.0	20.2	5.3	6.1	1.2	1.9	53.3	49.4	16.8	18.2	2.4	2.4	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Officials/Administrators	45.0	46.6	2.2	2.6	1.3	1.2	45.0	44.3	3.8	3.5	1.0	0.5	6.6	6.1	2.4	2.4
Professionals	11.0	22.9	1.8	1.9	0.8	1.2	63.2	58.4	7.1	8.8	1.2	1.4	20.7	17.7	22.0	18.7
Technicians	14.9	15.3	3.0	3.4	1.0	0.8	60.9	55.9	16.6	21.4	2.4	2.2	10.9	10.5	16.3	17.0
Protective Service	60.5	56.7	18.2	26.8	2.9	4.3	12.9	6.5	4.8	3.9	1.0	0.4	3.5	4.4	0.3	0.2
Paraprofessionals	12.9	13.4	7.0	6.4	0.9	1.6	49.9	49.0	26.0	25.8	2.3	2.5	18.5	18.6	24.7	26.9
Office/Clerical	4.5	6.5	1.4	2.3	0.3	1.0	74.1	68.2	14.3	16.6	4.1	4.3	1.3	4.4	16.8	16.0
Skilled Craft	70.5	58.4	7.1	8.2	2.8	2.4	15.1	20.2	1.0	9.5	0.6	0.8	10.6	10.5	0.9	1.9
Service/Maintenance	20.8	23.0	11.4	12.7	2.5	3.9	36.5	35.0	24.0	21.6	3.4	2.9	25.7	27.7	16.7	16.9

Note: Participation rates shown for each year, together with figures for Asians and American Indians not shown, total 100.0 percent. Occupational distributions by sex are included to indicate the relative numerical importance of each job category.

Sources: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Job Patterns for Minorities and Women in State and Local Government, 1980, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1982; and Minorities and Women in State and Local Government, 1973, Vol. I, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1974.

Table V-14(g). State and Local Governments: Participation Rates for Selected Functions of Full-Time, Year-Round Employees by Job Category, Sex, Race, and Ethnicity, 1973 and 1980.

Function 12: Utilities and Transportation

Job Category	Participation Rate (% of total employment)												Occupational Distribution			
	Male						Female						All Male		All Female	
	White		Black		Hispanic		White		Black		Hispanic					
	1980	1973	1980	1973	1980	1973	1980	1973	1980	1973	1980	1973	1980	1973	1980	1973
Total	59.5	68.6	17.8	15.2	5.3	4.1	11.0	8.7	3.8	2.1	0.7	0.3	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Officials/Administrators	86.0	87.7	5.0	6.6	1.8	1.9	5.8	2.9	0.4	0.5	0.1	0.0	6.9	7.5	2.5	2.0
Professionals	73.1	84.5	4.5	3.6	2.5	2.1	12.2	4.8	2.2	0.5	0.6	0.1	6.6	6.0	6.6	2.8
Technicians	76.7	84.2	7.7	5.5	4.1	2.9	7.7	4.0	1.5	1.5	0.4	0.2	8.4	8.4	4.8	4.1
Protective Service	70.1	81.3	15.0	13.0	4.7	3.1	5.4	1.6	3.4	0.4	0.3	0.1	2.5	2.6	1.3	0.4
Paraprofessionals	63.4	76.8	12.1	11.7	2.9	4.3	15.6	4.3	3.9	0.5	1.0	0.0	1.1	1.6	1.6	0.6
Office/Clerical	16.2	24.7	5.0	7.4	1.4	1.5	58.7	52.6	12.7	10.5	3.7	1.9	3.5	5.5	61.0	83.3
Skilled Craft	77.4	84.2	13.8	10.4	5.4	4.3	1.1	0.2	0.6	0.1	0.1	0.0	30.0	30.6	3.0	0.7
Service/Maintenance	50.8	63.1	31.7	28.4	7.9	6.0	3.3	0.8	4.4	1.1	0.4	0.0	40.9	37.9	19.2	5.9

Note: Participation rates shown for each year, together with figures for Asians and American Indians not shown, total 100.0 percent. Occupational distributions by sex are included to indicate the relative numerical importance of each job category.

Sources: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Job Patterns for Minorities and Women in State and Local Government, 1980, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1982; and Minorities and Women in State and Local Government, 1973, Vol. 1, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1974.

Table V-14(h). State and Local Governments: Participation Rates for Selected Functions of Full-Time, Year-Round Employees by Job Category, Sex, Race, and Ethnicity, 1973 and 1980.

Function 13: Sanitation and Sewage

Job Category	Participation Rate (% of total employment)												Occupational Distribution			
	Male						Female						All Male		All Female	
	White		Black		Hispanic		White		Black		Hispanic					
	1980	1973	1980	1973	1980	1973	1980	1973	1980	1973	1980	1973	1980	1973	1980	1973
Total	56.8	59.1	29.8	32.3	6.7	5.5	4.3	2.2	1.3	0.4	0.2	0.1	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Officials/Administrators	86.8	86.4	7.1	9.3	2.7	2.6	2.6	1.2	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.0	3.9	5.7	1.9	2.1
Professionals	75.3	87.5	4.4	3.3	2.5	2.8	9.7	3.5	1.2	0.2	0.1	0.0	3.1	2.7	6.7	2.9
Technicians	78.0	86.3	8.2	7.3	3.2	2.9	7.5	2.5	1.2	0.4	0.2	0.0	6.8	6.5	11.3	5.2
Protective Service	52.9	74.2	39.8	17.5	1.2	1.0	2.5	2.8	2.5	4.5	0.3	0.0	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.5
Paraprofessionals	65.3	78.1	19.3	12.4	2.4	4.8	8.4	2.9	3.0	1.0	0.8	0.0	1.1	1.2	2.4	1.2
Office/Clerical	17.1	26.5	5.0	3.7	1.3	0.9	61.5	56.9	11.1	9.7	2.6	1.5	1.1	1.4	55.8	84.0
Skilled Craft	69.7	74.3	22.2	20.2	6.3	4.7	0.7	0.2	0.5	0.1	0.0	0.0	24.0	20.6	4.5	1.6
Service/Maintenance	48.9	52.6	40.4	40.5	8.4	6.3	0.7	0.1	0.9	0.1	0.1	0.0	59.6	61.4	17.1	2.5

Note: Participation rates shown for each year, together with figures for Asians and American Indians not shown, total 100.0 percent. Occupational distributions by sex are included to indicate the relative numerical importance of each job category.

Sources: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Job Patterns for Minorities and Women in State and Local Government, 1980, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1982; and Minorities and Women in State and Local Government, 1973, Vol. 1, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1974.

References

1. Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972 (amendment to Title VII of Civil Rights Act of 1964), Public Law 92-261, March 24, 1972, 42 U.S.C. §2000e *et seq.*

2. *For ALL the people . . . By ALL the people: A Report on Equal Opportunity in State and Local Government Employment*, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1969.

3. "Survey of Current Personnel Systems in State and Local Governments," *Good Government*, Spring 1971.

4. *Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1978*, Office of the White House Press Secretary, released February 23, 1978.

5. *Ibid.*

6. Section 310, Civil Service Reform Act of 1978, 5 U.S.C. §7201.

7. *Ibid.*

8. 5 C.F.R. Part 720; 44 FR 22029, April 13, 1979.

9. The history of these EEOC actions is summarized in Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, *Public Sector Programs: Missions and Functions*, Washington, D.C., 1984, pp.5-9.

10. Reporting requirements are set forth in detail in: Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, *Instructions for Preparing Affirmative Action Accomplishment Reports and Updates for Minorities and Women*, (EEO-MD 707A), Washington, D.C., August 1983.

11. See Chapter III for conclusions of the Leonard Report.

12. 42 U.S.C. §2000d *et seq.*

13. For summaries and citations of laws, orders, and regulations with affirmative action requirements affecting state and local governments, see: Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, *Eliminating Discrimination in Employment: A Compelling National Priority (A Handbook for State, County and Municipal Governments)*, Washington, D.C., July 1979. Chapter IV.

14. The functions are: 01, financial administration and general control; 02, streets and highways; 03, public welfare; 04, police protection; 05, fire protection; 06, natural resources and parks and recreation; 07, hospitals and sanitoriums; 08, health; 09, housing; 10, community development; 11, corrections; 12, utilities and transportation; 13, sanitation and sewage; 14, employment security; and 15, other.

15. These data are derived from the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, *Job Patterns of Minorities and Women in State and Local Government, 1980*, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1982.

16. *Ibid.*, for source of state and local government data. Sources for private industry and construction data are shown in Tables III-3 and IV-6, respectively.

CHAPTER VI

EDUCATION AND EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

Equal employment opportunity has been discussed in terms of a set of various government programs impinging upon private industry in general, the construction industry in particular, and government at both the federal level and the state and local levels. Equal schooling opportunity is a vital precursor to equal employment opportunity in that it provides the chance to obtain the knowledge and skills necessary to secure and perform jobs. This chapter considers the role of education in enabling minorities and women to take full advantage of affirmative action programs. The effects of affirmative action on employment in institutions of higher education will also be examined.

Government loans and grants made directly to students, as well as to educational institutions, provide the basis for requiring affirmative action in the provision of educational services without discrimination against minority or female students. The two general legislative bases for non-discrimination in education are Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964[1], and Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, which prohibits sex discrimination in all federally-assisted programs and activities.[2] The role of education in job qualification also has been commented upon in court decisions.[3]

All affirmative action programs have to deal with under-utilization of minorities and women in terms of their skills and their availability for particular jobs. Under-utilization is generally predicated upon statistics showing insufficient employment of particular groups in comparison with their availability. Availability is variously defined, depending on the requirements for performing a job, as ranging from broad civilian labor force statistics to narrowly limited occupational data. Definitions also take into consideration the appropriate labor market areas from which applicants should be sought. These varying definitions form the core of lawyers' briefs and judges' decisions in discrimination suits.

Educational Qualification

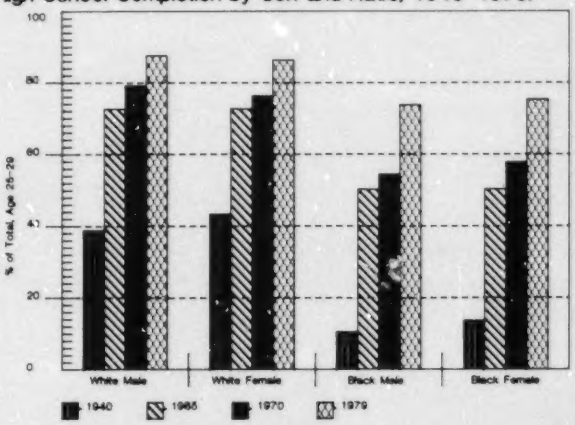
A related factor in the question of availability is qualification. Various kinds of educational statistics are examined herein to determine the extent to which minorities and women have been enhancing their availability for better paid jobs by improving their educational preparation.

High School Graduation

An educational profile of the United States population by race and sex shows tremendous changes in educational achievements since World War II. High school graduation statistics especially serve as a dramatic indication of change. In 1940, only one-fourth of all persons age 25 or over had earned high school diplomas. The ratio increased to one-half by 1965, and 14 years later, in 1979, had risen to two-thirds. (See Table VI-1.) In the 25-29 age group, high school graduation has been approaching universality, having reached 86 percent in 1979. (See Chart VI-1.)

CHART VI-1.

High School Completion by Sex and Race, 1940–1979.



Among blacks, high school graduation was a rare achievement before World War II. Only eight percent of the entire black population age 25 or over had graduated from high school in 1940, including a mere 12 percent of the 25-29 age group. Given the economic and social conditions of blacks before the war, marked by chronic poverty and virtual peonage, their massive migration from the South during and after the war into strange and often hostile environments, and the growth and persistent poverty of female-headed

households among them, it would not be surprising if blacks did not parallel the pace of growth in secondary education attained by whites after World War II. The fact is that a high school diploma ceased to be a rare achievement. By 1965, more than one-fourth of the total black population had high school diplomas; by 1979 this figure had almost doubled to one-half. In the 25-29 age group, one-half were high school graduates in 1965, and three-fourths in 1979, approaching the 87 percent level of whites.

Throughout the years, sex differences were small compared to race differences. In 1940, more women in proportion to their population were high school graduates than men among both races. In the post-World War II years, these sex differences tended to disappear.

Of course, numbers and percentages of high school graduates reveal nothing of the content and quality of the education received. Even the fact that as many teenage girls as boys completed a secondary education does not signify that they received the same or equal kind of preparation for the world of work or for higher education, in view of the traditional differences in curriculum content applicable to sex, race, and economic status.

In addition, there are other qualitative considerations. Scholastic Aptitude Test scores and other indicia seem to provide evidence that quality has declined in general with the expansion of education. Especially for black children, commentators have expressed deep concern about the quality of teaching and the standards to which they have been held. Columnist William Raspberry, himself a black, recently asked a conference on blacks and education convened in Washington, D.C., to address itself to the following questions: "Have we spent too much of our energies integrating black children and too little seeing to their proper education? Have we been too protective of black teachers and school officials to demand that they do better what they are paid to do? Are we guilty of a failure of faith in the ability of black children from low-income families to do well in school?"[4]

Still, despite the issue of educational quality, the quantitative achievements were most impressive. The fact that the ratio of blacks in their late twenties who had completed high school had risen in the course of four decades from only one out of eight to six out of eight indicates that this generation of blacks is, on the average, better prepared for higher levels of work. And, with mounting national concern over educational quality, there is increasing chance that longer schooling will coincide with better schooling.

Higher Education Enrollment

The post-World War II years were marked by spectacular and continuous expansion in college attendance among all groups: men, women, whites, blacks, and other minorities. Total enrollment for degree credit increased from 2.3 million in 1947 to 10.5 million in 1980. The growth has been predominantly in public institutions, where it increased from 1.2 million to 7.9 million over the same period, and in two-year community colleges, where enrollment expanded from 0.8 million in 1963 to 4.5 million in 1980. As a percentage of the 18-24 age group, enrollment in all types of institutions of higher education increased from 26 percent to 41 percent in the 1963-1980 period.[5]

A major factor in the growth of college attendance has been the participation of women, which rose from 41 percent to 51 percent of the total enrollment in the 1970-80 decade. Since 1975, the number of male students actually declined while the number of female students increased by nearly one-fourth.[6] The most extensive female progress took place in the two-year colleges, where their enrollment increased from 41 percent to 55 percent of the total in the decade, including both full-time and part-time attendance.[7] An examination of the increase in higher education enrollment of men and women by age group in the years 1972-78 showed the following:[8]

	% Increase, 1972-78	
Age Group	Male	Female
All Ages	8.0	45.0
21 and under	2.5	15.5
22-24	3.0	66.0
25 and over	20.0	102.0

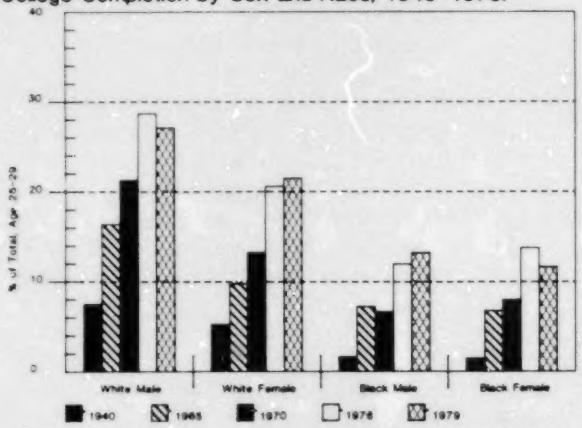
Table VI-1 shows that, in contrast to high school graduates among whom there was no significant percentage difference between males and females, there historically has been a substantial differential in favor of males among the populations completing both one year of college and four years of college. This, however, applied only to whites; black enrollments never reflected male predominance. The figures do reveal a trend toward the narrowing of the white, male-female differentials in the 25-29 age population.

Racial differences have been considerable for both sexes, and have persisted, as the 1979 figures in Table VI-1 indicate. Nevertheless, the rising of the educational tide has considerably boosted the education level of the black as well as the white populations. In 1940, a miniscule proportion of blacks in the 25-29 age group, little more than one out of 100, had

completed college. By 1965, the ratio was seven out of 100, and in the late '70s it was from 12 to 13 out of 100. (See Chart VI-2.)

CHART VI-2.

College Completion by Sex and Race, 1940–1979.



Data covering Hispanics from 1972 and blacks from 1965 are presented in Table VI-2, which shows the race, ethnicity, and sex components of college enrollment in selected years from 1965 to 1980. The proportion of total enrollment that was white and male declined steadily from 58.6 percent to 43.6 percent. At the same time, white female representation increased from 35.1 percent to the same level as white males, 43.6 percent. Black males reached a peak of 4.9 percent in 1976, and then fell back to 4.3 percent in 1980. Black females moved ahead of black males to 5.8 percent in 1976, and then declined slightly to 5.6 percent in 1980. The proportion of Hispanic males remained almost unchanged after rising from 1.2 percent to 2.2 percent in 1974. For Hispanic females, the figures show fluctuation between 1.8 percent and 2.2 percent from 1974 on.

Higher Education By Level and Major Field

Enrollment shares in 1976 and 1980 by sex, race, and ethnicity are shown in Table VI-3 for three levels of higher education: undergraduate, graduate, and "first-professional" (defined by the Department of Education as leading to a degree in law, dentistry, medicine, veterinary medicine, chiropody or podiatry, osteopathy, theology, chiropractic, or pharmacy). The 1980 figures show females accounting for over one-half of the undergraduate enrollments and nearly one-half of the graduate students, but little more than one-fourth of the first-professional enrollments. White females substantially increased their percentage of the total at each educational level in the four years represented by the table. The minority female increases were smaller, and black females showed little relative change except in first-professional schools. The percentages for white males show a substantial drop at all levels over the four years, and black male enrollment also declined at all levels, but to a lesser extent. Minority enrollment, regardless of sex, was much higher among undergraduates than at the higher levels. In 1980, blacks of both sexes accounted for 9.9 percent of all undergraduates, but only 5.5 percent of all graduate students and 4.6 percent of all first-professional students. For Hispanics, the figures were 5.4 percent of the undergraduates, 2.7 percent of the graduate students, and 3.0 percent of the first-professional students.

Table VI-4 presents data by sex only for 1970 and 1980. (Numerical and percentage differences between this table and Table VI-3 are due to different data sources.) Between 1970 and 1980, there were substantial increases in both number and percentage of females enrolled at all levels of higher education. In two-year institutions, for which separate figures on sex, but not race or ethnicity, exist, female students reached close to 55 percent of the total in 1980. The greatest percentage advance was made in the first-professional schools, where women increased their enrollment from eight percent to 28 percent in the ten-year period.

Table VI-5 presents information on earned degrees (i.e. bachelors', masters', and doctors' degrees) for 21 major fields of study by race and ethnicity of students for the school year ending 1979. Similar data by sex only for 1971 and 1980 are presented in Table VI-6. Blacks had their greatest representation at each of the three degree levels in education, communications, public affairs and services, psychology, and social sciences. Their lowest representation was in engineering, physical sciences, fine arts, foreign languages, and agriculture and natural resources. Hispanics paralleled the black representation, except for a high concentration in foreign languages. Asians were most strongly represented at the higher degree levels in engineering, computer sciences, mathematics, and the physical and biological sciences. Because of their small overall numbers, the figures for American Indians are less clear, but seem similar to those of blacks.

For graduate students, education was the most popular among the 21 fields of study, accounting for 37 percent of the masters' degrees and 24 percent of the doctorates. Concentration in education was greatest among minorities, except Asians, and particularly among blacks. As many as 56 percent of all blacks receiving masters' degrees, and 49 percent of

those receiving doctorates, majored in education. The top line of Table VI-5 shows blacks accounting for 6.6 percent of bachelors' degrees in all fields combined, 6.5 percent of all masters', and 3.9 percent of all doctors'. With the statistics for education deleted, the black representation would be reduced to 6.2 percent, 4.5 percent, and 2.6 percent, respectively.

In the nine-year period between the 1971-72 and 1980-81 school years, the proportion of women receiving bachelors' degrees rose from 43.5 percent to almost 50 percent, an increase of about one-seventh. The proportion receiving masters' degrees rose from 40.6 percent to a little over 50 percent, an increase of almost one-fourth. Most impressively, the figure of 15.8 percent receiving doctorates in the earlier year practically doubled to 31.1 percent in the latter year. While women continued to be highly represented in the traditional fields of female specialization, such as education, library science, home economics, language, arts, and letters, Table VI-6 indicates considerable increases in fields in which women previously had rarely taken degrees, such as business, agriculture, architecture, the various sciences, and engineering.

Numbers and percentages of women obtaining first-professional degrees in law, medicine, and dentistry actually declined or remained unchanged from the early 1950s to 1960, rose slowly until the mid-1960s and then somewhat faster until the end of that decade, and then accelerated very rapidly.[9] In medicine, women obtained between five and eight percent of the total degrees granted until 1970, probably concentrated in certain traditional female specialties. Women earned well under five percent of the total degrees in law before 1969, and no more than one percent in dentistry. By the end of the seventies, women accounted for 23 percent of the medical degrees, 30 percent of the law degrees, and 13 percent of the dental degrees.

Table VI-7 presents statistics on enrollment in these three fields by race and ethnicity as well as sex at three periods, 1971, 1976, and 1981. By far the largest growth in female enrollment took place in the first half of that ten-year interval. In law, a spectacular change occurred, with the female proportion rising from 9.4 percent in 1971 to 25.5 percent in 1976 to 35.3 percent in 1981. In medicine, the respective figures were 10.9 percent, 22.4 percent, and 27.9 percent. In dentistry, where women accounted for only 1.9 percent of the total enrollment in 1971, their proportion increased rapidly to 18.7 percent in 1981.

In the case of race and ethnicity, there were increases in the numbers and percentages enrolled, but of a much lower magnitude. The figures for blacks show low levels and moderate increases between 1971 and 1976, rising from 4.0 percent to 4.7 percent in law, from 4.7 percent to 6.1 percent in medicine, and from 3.5 percent to 4.5 percent in dentistry. The 1981 data show a slight decline of one- or two-tenths of a percent in each field. Hispanics, in contrast, improved their representation in each period, but mostly in the first five years. In law school, their figures were 1.2 percent in 1971, 2.0 percent in 1976, and 2.5 percent in 1981. In medical school, the respective figures were 0.8 percent, 1.8 percent, and 2.1 percent; and for dental school, 0.5 percent, 1.4 percent, and 2.6 percent. (Charts VI-3, VI-4, and VI-5 illustrate the 1971 and 1981 percentages in each of the three professional studies.)

CHART VI-3. Law School Enrollment of Blacks, Hispanics and Females, 1971 and 1981.

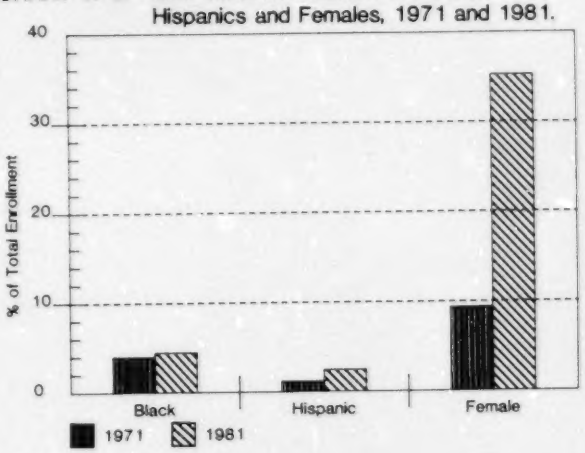


CHART VI-4. Medical School Enrollment of Blacks, Hispanics and Females, 1971 and 1981.

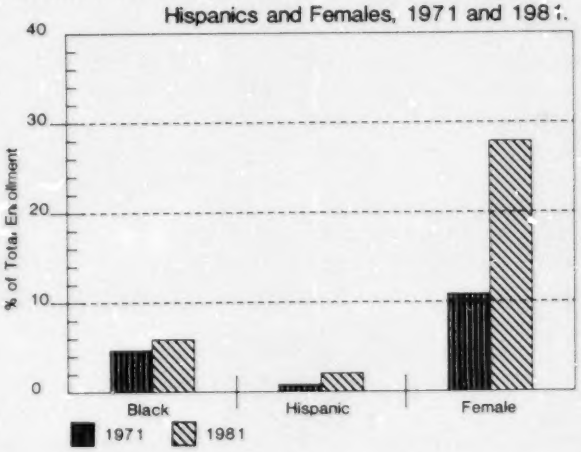
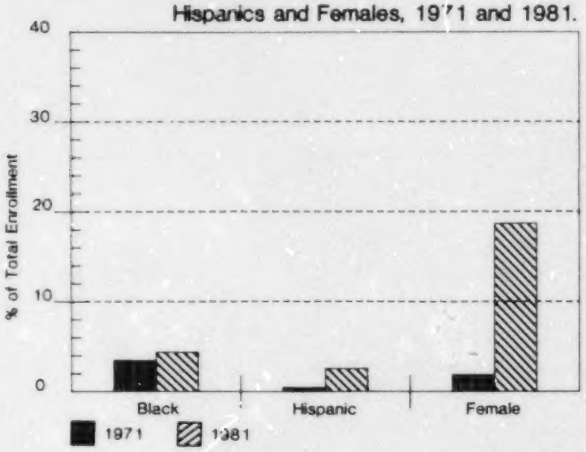


CHART VI–5. Dental School Enrollment of Blacks, Hispanics and Females, 1971 and 1981.



It seems clear that a radical change in the aspirations and self-image of women, mainly white women, was a necessary but insufficient condition for the recent, rapid gains they made in first-professional education, as well as in the other levels and fields of higher education. What also was required, however, was a change in attitude of admissions officers, due in large measure to the influence of equal opportunity law and affirmative action requirements. A third factor has been the financial ability of many women to bear the heavy costs of graduate and professional education. Financial ability, on the other hand, has probably played a negative role in the case of racial and ethnic minorities, notwithstanding individual motivation and affirmative action programs. There is evidence that blacks, Hispanics, and American Indians have been incapacitated by financial handicap. For example, a study of minority medical school entrants showed that, in 1972, 53 percent of white matriculants nationwide had a combined parental income of $15,000 or more, compared with 15 percent of the blacks, 10 percent of the Mexican-Americans, 29 percent of the Puerto Ricans, and 13 percent of the American Indians.[10] These figures cover only minority students who had applied and were actually enrolled in medical school, and they indicate clearly that inability to pay for medical training has seriously limited the supply of minority doctors.

There also seems to have been some slippage in efforts to recruit under-represented minorities. Continuing with the example of medical schools, a 1982 report to the Governor of New York by the State Health Planning Commission stated that minority enrollment in New York's 12 medical schools "slipped to an abysmal 4.9 percent" in the previous year from a peak of 8.3 percent in 1976.[11] The commission ascribed the decline to diminished federal support for affirmative action programs and a lack of commitment by the medical schools. In the Fall of 1980, 818 of the total of 3,708 black medical students in the United States were enrolled in only two out of 126 medical schools, Howard and Meharry. Blacks accounted for 5.7 percent of all medical students in 1980. Assuming an 80 percent black enrollment in the two predominantly black medical schools, the black ratio in the 124 other schools was only 4.5 percent.[12]

Table VI-3 indicated that there was a drop in the proportionate enrollment of black males between 1976 and 1980 in undergraduate, graduate, and first-professional schools, and a slight decline of black females in graduate school. There is evidence that declines in black college enrollment are continuing. The New York Times reported in late 1982 that many colleges and universities around the country, covering a wide variety of institutions from "Ivy League" to state colleges, were reporting a substantial drop in the number of minority freshmen, especially blacks.[13] The United Negro College Fund announced that even among the historically black colleges first-year enrollment was down 12 percent. There was general agreement that the main cause was worsening economic conditions, the effects of which have been aggravated by cutbacks in federal grants and loans to college students. Other ascribed reasons included a lessening commitment to affirmative action programs, difficulties in recruiting among discouraged, poorly educated, inner-city blacks, and the deteriorating quality of their secondary education.

As regards graduate education, the prospects of employment have declined considerably in fields in which the under-represented minorities have tended to specialize, such as education, the social sciences, and public affairs. John B. Slaughter, then Director of the National Science Foundation, and currently Chancellor of the University of Maryland, a black who was educated as an engineer, stated in 1981 that black students tend to be given poor preparation in math and science at the high school level, which limits their access in higher education to fields of growing employment.[14] These considerations emphasize the vital necessity of supplementing affirmative action programs with social commitments to reverse the deterioration in the quality of public school education generally, and to restore both public and private financial assistance in higher education.

Employment in Higher Education

Institutions of higher education have themselves been a source of many charges of employment discrimination, particularly sex discrimination in faculty positions. The EEOC has conducted biennial surveys of employment in higher education since 1975. Table VI-8 presents a national summary of employment data covering 177 such institutions which reported in 1975, and 196 which reported in 1979, the latest year for which data were available at the time of this writing. While women held slightly less than one-half of the total of nearly one and a half million jobs in these institutions in 1979, their representation in the 452,000 faculty positions was little more than one-fourth. Similarly, blacks and Hispanics had far lower representation on the faculty than in other jobs. The overall participation rate of black males was 4.9 percent, and that of black females was 7.4 percent. In faculty positions, the figures were 2.3 percent for black males and 2.0 percent for black females. Total employment of Hispanics was 1.5 percent for males and 1.3 percent for females, with faculty employment 1.1 percent for males and 0.4 percent for females.

In the four-year interval, 1975-1979, the total representation of all female groups (whites and each minority) increased. Among the male groups, there was a decrease of white and black representation, but not of the other minorities. Statistics for faculty positions show an increase in the percentages of white and Asian women, and Hispanic and Asian men; there was a decline of white and black males. The decline in the percentages of black males is consistent throughout the occupations, except the blue-collar jobs of skilled crafts and service-maintenance. There was a substantial increase in the faculty positions held by Asian males, reaching 2.3 percent in 1979, the same as for black males.

The EEOC's higher education survey breaks down faculty statistics by tenure and rank. In 1977, the most recent year for which the breakdown is available, 59 percent of all male faculty members, but only 39 percent of all females, were tenured. For minorities, the tenured figures were 43 percent of black males, 47 percent of Hispanic males, 35 percent of black females, and 39 percent of Hispanic females.[15] Within the tenured category, which accounted for more than one-half of all college and university faculty, 44 percent of all males were full professors, compared with only 19 percent of all females. Also, 30 percent of tenured black males, 29 percent of Hispanic males, 14 percent of black females, and 13 percent of Hispanic females were full professors.

The following tabulation covers total United States faculty and shows the participation rates in 1979 of all females, and of blacks and Hispanics by sex, in each of six academic ranks surveyed:[16]

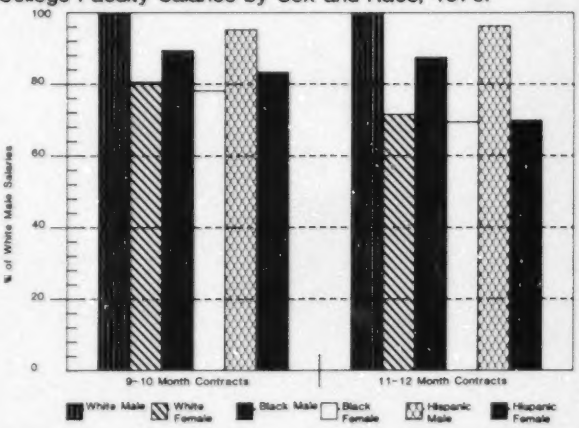
	% of Total Faculty Employment—1977				
	All	Males		Females	
Rank	Females	Black	Hispanic	Black	Hispanic
Professor	9.4	1.5	0.7	0.6	0.1
Associate Professor	17.8	2.1	1.0	1.1	0.3
Assistant Professor	30.3	2.8	1.2	2.4	0.5
Instructor	41.7	3.1	1.5	4.0	0.8
Lecturer	39.4	4.2	1.5	3.5	0.9
Other Faculty	33.5	1.8	1.1	2.1	0.5
Total Faculty	25.2	2.4	1.1	2.0	0.4

In summary, greater proportions of white males than of black or Hispanic males had tenure in American colleges and universities, and greater proportions of males, regardless of race or ethnicity, than females had tenure. Within the grouping of tenured faculty, the same relationships pertained with respect to academic rank. Statistics by rank showed that all females, and blacks and Hispanics of both sexes, were most severely under-represented in the highest academic ranks of professor and associate professor.

Statistics on median annual salaries of full-time faculty in 1979 reveal that all minority males, except Asians, received lower salaries than white males. All females, white as well as minority, were paid lower salaries than all males, minority as well as white. (See Table VI-9 and Chart VI-6.) The differentials in pay by sex were particularly great among the one-fourth of American faculty that were on a 12-month contract, as compared to those on a nine-month contract.

CHART VI–6.

College Faculty Salaries by Sex and Race, 1979.



A table of average salaries by sex and academic rank in the school year 1980-81, published by the National Center for Education Statistics, revealed that the male-female pay differential among full professors was greater than for associate professors, assistant professors, and instructors. (See Table VI-10.)* However, the male-female differential within each academic rank was narrower than the differential for all academic ranks combined, regardless of length of annual contract term. For example, for all faculty with nine-month contracts, female salaries were 82.0 percent of male salaries; for full professors, the ratio was 90.0 percent. The respective figures for faculty with 12-month contracts were 75.3 percent for all faculty and 86.9 percent for full professors. Clearly, a substantial part of overall faculty male-female pay differentials was accounted for by the greater concentration of women in the lower paid academic ranks. Another part was probably due to lower seniority within rank, although firm information was not available on this point. How much of the differential might be due to unequal pay for the same level of work was not indicated by any available statistics.

*The fact that Table VI-9 shows median salaries and Table VI-10 shows average salaries accounts for the dollar differences.

Table VI-1. Percent of Persons Age 25 and Over, and of Persons Age 25-29, Who Have Completed High School, One Year of College, and Four Years of College, by Race and Sex, in Selected Years, 1940-1979.

Year and Level	Age 25 and over					Age 25-29				
		White		Black			White		Black	
	All	Male	Female	Male	Female	All	Male	Female	Male	Female
% Completed High School:										
1979	67.7	70.3	69.2	49.2	49.5	85.6	87.7	86.4	73.9	75.4
1978	65.9	68.6	67.2	47.9	47.3	85.3	86.8	85.8	78.5	76.3
1976	62.5	66.7	65.5	42.3	45.0	84.7	87.3	84.6	72.5	74.9
1974	61.2	63.6	63.0	39.9	41.5	81.9	84.1	82.7	71.1	66.0
1972	58.2	60.3	60.5	35.7	37.2	79.8	82.3	80.8	61.8	66.2
1970	55.2	57.2	57.6	32.4	34.8	75.4	79.2	76.4	54.5	57.9
1965	49.0	50.2	52.2	25.8	28.4	70.3	72.7	72.8	50.3	50.4
1940	24.5	24.2	28.1	6.9	8.4	38.1	38.9	43.4	10.6	13.8
% Completed 1 Year of College:										
1979	31.1	37.2	27.6	19.7	19.1	46.3	51.7	44.3	30.4	32.2
1970	21.2	26.2	18.6	10.2	10.4	31.3	38.3	27.4	15.7	18.8
% Completed College:										
1979	16.4	21.4	13.3	8.3	7.5	23.1	27.1	21.5	13.3	11.7
1978	15.7	20.7	12.6	7.3	7.1	23.3	27.6	21.4	10.7	12.6
1976	14.7	19.6	11.6	6.3	6.8	23.7	28.7	20.6	12.0	13.8
1974	13.3	17.7	10.6	5.7	5.3	20.7	25.3	18.8	8.8	7.2
1972	12.0	16.2	9.4	5.5	4.8	19.0	23.1	16.7	7.1	9.4
1970	11.0	15.0	8.6	4.6	4.4	16.4	21.3	13.3	6.7	8.0
1965	9.4	12.7	7.3	4.9	4.5	12.4	16.4	9.8	7.3	6.8
1940	4.6	5.9	4.0	1.4	1.2	5.9	7.5	5.3	1.5	1.7

Note: 1940 figures under "black" are for "black and other races."

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 356, Educational Attainment in the United States, March 1979 and 1978, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1980, pp. 1 and 60-61.

Table VI-2. College Enrollment of Persons 14 to 34 Years Old in the United States by Sex, Race, and Ethnicity, in Selected Years, 1965 to 1980.

Year	Total Number (000)	% of Total							
		Male				Female			
		All	White	Black	Hispanic 1/	All	White	Black	Hispanic 1/
1980	10,180	49.4	43.6	4.3	2.2	50.6	43.6	5.6	2.2
1978	9,838	52.1	45.8	4.6	2.0	47.9	40.7	5.8	1.8
1976	9,950	53.2	46.8	4.9	2.2	46.8	40.1	5.8	2.1
1974	8,827	55.8	49.5	4.8	2.2	44.2	38.7	4.4	1.8
1972	8,313	58.4	52.9	4.3	1.5	41.6	36.8	4.1	1.4
1970	7,413	59.4	54.8	3.4	N/A	40.6	36.3	3.6	N/A
1965	5,675	61.7	58.6	2.2	N/A	38.3	35.1	2.6	N/A

N/A - Not available.

1/ Hispanics may be of any race, and are not separate components of the all male and all female totals. Other races, not shown, account for the differences between the totals and the sum of white and black percentages.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Series P-20, No. 362, School Enrollment - Social and Economic Characteristics of Students: October 1980 (Advance Report), U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., May 1981, p. 5.

Table VI-3. Enrollment in Institutions of Higher Education by Level, Sex, Race, and Ethnicity: Fall 1976 and Fall 1980.

Sex and Race/Ethnicity	Undergraduate 1980	Undergraduate 1976	Graduate 1980	Graduate 1976	First - Professional 1980	First - Professional 1976
Total: Number (000)	9,387	8,525	1,102	1,086	279	246
Percent of Total:						
Male:						
All	48.4	52.3	51.8	55.4	71.6	77.6
White	40.2	43.8	46.9	50.4	65.2	71.2
Minority: All	8.2	8.5	4.9	5.0	6.4	6.4
Black	4.2	4.7	2.1	2.5	2.6	2.9
Hispanic	2.5	2.5	1.3	1.2	2.1	1.9
Asian	1.2	1.0	1.3	1.1	1.5	1.2
American Indian	0.3	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.4
Female:						
All	51.6	47.7	48.2	44.6	28.4	22.4
White	41.5	38.7	42.4	39.3	24.7	19.6
Minority: All	10.1	9.0	5.8	5.3	3.7	2.8
Black	5.7	5.5	3.4	3.5	2.0	1.6
Hispanic	2.9	2.3	1.4	1.0	0.9	0.6
Asian	1.1	0.8	0.8	0.6	0.7	0.5
American Indian	0.4	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Fall Enrollment in Higher Education, Table 26, 1976 and 1980.

Table VI-4. Enrollment in Institutions of Higher Education by Level of Enrollment and Sex, 1970 and 1980.

	1980 Total No. (000)	1980 Female No. (000)	1980 Female %	1970 Total No. (000)	1970 Female No. (000)	1970 Female %
Undergraduate: 2 year institutions	4,524	2,478	54.8	2,223	905	40.7
Undergraduate: 4 year institutions	5,949	2,997	50.4	5,153	2,217	43.0
Graduate	1,343	670	49.9	1,031	400	38.7
First-Professional	278	79	28.4	175	14	8.0

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Projections of Education Statistics to 1990-91, Vol. 1, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1982, pp. 47-52, 55.

Table VI-5. Earned Degrees by Level of Degree, Field of Study, and Race and Ethnicity of Students, for School Year 1978-79.

Major Field of Study [1]	Bachelors'					Masters'					Doctors'				
	Total No. of Degrees	% of Total				Total No. of Degrees	% of Total				Total No. of Degrees	% of Total			
		Black	His-panic	Asian	Amer. Ind.		Black	His-panic	Asian	Amer. Ind.		Black	His-panic	Asian	Amer. Ind.
All Fields	916,347	6.6	2.2	1.7	0.4	299,887	6.5	1.8	1.8	0.3	32,664	3.9	1.3	2.5	0.3
Agriculture and Natural Resources	23,134	1.5	0.9	1.4	0.4	3,994	2.0	0.9	2.6	0.1	950	1.5	1.3	3.6	--
Architecture and Environmental Design	9,273	3.4	2.5	2.4	0.3	3,113	3.7	1.9	3.0	0.2	96	5.2	3.1	2.1	--
Biological Sciences	48,794	5.1	2.3	3.0	0.3	6,831	2.2	1.0	3.0	0.2	3,542	1.3	0.8	3.6	0.2
Business and Management	172,524	6.6	1.9	1.8	0.3	50,043	4.3	1.2	2.5	0.3	863	2.1	0.6	1.4	0.3
Communications	26,442	7.6	1.5	1.0	0.3	2,880	5.2	1.1	1.7	0.1	192	5.2	1.0	1.6	--
Computer and Information Sciences	8,693	5.8	1.8	3.0	0.1	2,980	2.2	0.8	5.0	0.5	236	1.7	0.4	3.4	--
Education	125,786	9.1	2.4	0.6	0.5	111,487	9.7	2.3	0.8	0.4	7,731	8.1	1.8	1.3	0.6
Engineering	61,426	2.9	1.8	3.0	0.3	15,239	1.6	1.3	5.6	0.2	2,491	1.0	0.9	7.3	0.1
Fine and Applied Arts	40,708	4.6	1.8	1.7	0.4	8,502	3.0	1.4	1.7	0.4	700	1.7	1.0	1.0	0.4
Foreign Languages	11,818	3.0	8.9	1.8	0.2	2,426	1.9	8.3	1.6	0.1	641	1.6	6.9	1.4	0.2
Health Professions	62,085	5.4	1.7	1.8	0.3	15,485	5.2	1.2	2.4	0.4	718	2.8	0.6	1.8	0.3
Home Economics	18,259	6.5	0.9	2.1	0.4	2,510	4.8	0.9	2.0	0.2	219	4.1	--	1.8	--
Letters	41,978	5.2	1.5	1.0	0.3	8,883	3.7	1.7	1.4	0.2	1,924	3.7	1.0	1.4	0.2
Library Science	558	8.8	0.5	0.4	0.4	5,906	5.2	1.3	1.8	0.2	70	2.9	--	1.4	--
Mathematics	11,740	5.6	1.7	2.7	0.3	3,033	2.3	0.9	3.4	0.3	730	1.8	0.8	4.0	--
Physical Sciences	22,861	3.0	1.5	1.9	0.3	5,406	1.6	1.0	3.0	0.5	3,102	1.5	0.7	3.9	0.3
Psychology	42,395	7.6	2.8	1.8	0.4	8,000	6.0	2.2	1.1	0.3	2,662	4.2	2.4	0.9	0.4
Public Affairs and Services	38,249	11.8	3.1	1.1	0.6	19,946	10.2	2.8	1.5	0.4	368	8.4	0.3	2.7	0.8
Social Sciences	108,000	8.4	2.7	1.5	0.5	12,887	5.8	1.9	1.8	0.3	3,360	3.9	1.2	1.9	0.5
Theology	5,898	2.6	1.2	0.6	0.2	3,398	2.1	1.2	0.7	0.1	1,101	2.7	0.6	1.3	0.1
Interdisciplinary Studies	32,346	7.3	2.8	1.7	0.5	4,553	4.1	1.3	1.2	0.5	709	2.1	1.7	2.4	0.3

1/ Three fields with fewer than 5,000 total degrees, area studies, law, and military sciences, are omitted from table.

Sources: U.S. Department of Education, Office for Civil Rights, Data on Earned Degrees Conferred by Institutions of Higher Education by Race, Ethnicity and Sex, Academic Year 1978-1979; published in National Center for Education Statistics, Digest of Education Statistics 1982, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1982, pp. 122-123.

Table VI-6. Earned Degrees by Level of Degree, Field of Study, and Sex of Students, School Years 1971-72 and 1980-81.

Major Field of Study 1/	Bachelors'				Masters'				Doctors'			
	Total No. of Degrees		% by Women		Total No. of Degrees		% by Women		Total No. of Degrees		% by Women	
	1980	1971	1980	1971	1980	1971	1980	1971	1980	1971	1980	1971
All Fields	935,140	887,273	49.8	43.5	295,739	251,633	50.3	40.6	32,958	33,363	31.1	15.8
Agriculture and Natural Resources	21,886	12,710	30.8	4.2	4,003	2,548	23.5	5.9	1,067	1,086	11.9	2.9
Architecture and Environmental Design	9,455	5,578	28.1	12.0	3,153	1,724	29.1	14.1	93	36	21.5	8.3
Biological Sciences	43,216	36,033	44.1	29.3	5,978	5,756	38.9	33.8	3,718	3,645	28.3	16.3
Business and Management	200,876	116,709	36.7	9.3	58,018	26,654	25.0	3.9	845	810	14.8	2.8
Communications	31,282	10,802	54.7	35.3	3,105	1,856	53.0	34.6	182	145	41.2	13.1
Computer and Information Sciences	15,121	2,388	32.7	13.6	4,218	1,588	23.0	10.3	252	128	9.9	2.3
Education	108,265	177,638	75.0	74.4	98,381	89,067	71.5	52.2	7,900	6,398	47.3	21.2
Engineering	75,000	50,357	10.3	0.8	16,709	16,457	8.2	1.1	2,561	3,638	4.1	0.6
Fine and Applied Arts	40,479	30,447	63.4	59.7	8,629	6,678	53.0	47.4	654	621	39.4	22.2
Foreign Languages	10,319	20,433	75.6	74.8	2,104	4,779	67.0	65.4	588	781	53.4	38.0
Health Professions	63,649	25,484	83.5	77.2	16,515	5,902	73.9	55.4	842	466	43.6	16.5
Home Economics	18,370	11,271	95.0	97.3	2,570	1,453	90.2	93.9	247	123	68.4	61.0
Letters	40,028	73,398	59.8	61.0	8,301	12,743	61.1	57.5	1,790	2,416	43.6	23.5
Library Science	375	1,013	94.1	92.0	4,859	7,028	82.7	81.3	71	39	56.3	28.2
Mathematics	11,078	24,918	42.8	38.1	2,576	5,201	34.1	29.3	728	1,199	15.7	7.8
Physical Sciences	23,952	21,549	24.6	14.0	5,284	6,386	20.5	13.4	3,141	4,391	12.0	5.6
Psychology	40,833	38,154	65.0	44.7	7,998	4,438	55.8	37.2	2,955	1,782	43.1	24.0
Public Affairs and Services	36,311	9,303	58.0	49.1	20,074	8,406	55.4	48.8	433	178	39.1	24.2
Social Sciences	100,647	156,698	44.2	37.0	11,917	16,522	37.6	28.3	3,119	3,659	27.2	13.9
Theology	5,841	3,744	25.4	27.2	4,220	2,710	33.6	24.4	1,276	312	7.9	1.9
Interdisciplinary Studies	34,491	14,084	51.0	29.2	4,519	1,706	39.8	35.2	279	91	39.1	15.4

1/ Three fields with fewer than 5,000 total degrees, area studies, law, and military sciences, are omitted from table.

Sources: The 1980 data were supplied by the National Center for Education Statistics. The 1971 data are adapted from G. Brown, Degree Awards to Women: An Update, National Center for Education Statistics, 1979, as published in M.L. Randour, G.L. Strasburg, and J. Lipman-Blumen, "Women in Higher Education: Trends in Enrollments and Degrees Earned," in Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 52, No. 2, May 1982, p. 196.

Table VI-7. Female and Minority Enrollment in Law, Medical, and Dental Schools in the United States: Fall 1971, 1976, and 1981.

	1981		1976		1971	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Law School:						
Total	127,312	100.0	117,451	100.0	94,486	100.0
Male	82,410	64.7	87,469	74.5	85,572	90.6
Female	44,902	35.3	29,982	25.5	8,914	9.4
Minority: All	11,130	8.7	9,503	8.1	5,520	5.8
Black	5,789	4.5	5,503	4.7	3,744	4.0
Hispanic	3,184	2.5	2,375	2.0	1,156	1.2
Asian	1,755	1.4	1,324	1.1	480	0.5
American Indian	402	0.3	301	0.3	140	0.1
Medical School:						
Total	66,278	100.0	57,765	100.0	43,650	100.0
Male	47,773	72.1	44,811	77.6	38,895	89.1
Female	18,505	27.9	12,954	22.4	4,755	10.9
Minority: All 1/	5,503	8.3	4,715	8.2	2,425	5.6
Black	3,884	5.9	3,517	6.1	2,055	4.7
Hispanic 1/	1,390	2.1	1,012	1.8	328	0.8
Asian 1/	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
American Indian	229	0.3	186	0.3	42	0.1
Dental School:						
Total	22,621	100.0	21,013	100.0	17,305	100.0
Male	18,194	81.3	18,664	88.8	16,971	98.1
Female	4,427	18.7	2,349	11.2	334	1.9
Minority: All	2,839	12.6	1,925	9.1	1,039	6.0
Black	999	4.4	955	4.5	597	3.5
Hispanic	583	2.6	298	1.4	93	0.5
Asian	1,196	5.3	608	2.9	341	2.0
American Indian	61	0.3	64	0.3	8	0.0

N/A - Not available.

1/ Medical school statistics present data for "underrepresented minorities" only, including Mexican Americans and mainland Puerto Ricans, combined herein as Hispanics, and omitting Asians.

Sources: American Bar Association Section of Legal Education and Admissions to the Bar, A Review of Legal Education in the United States - 1981-82: Law Schools and Bar Admission Requirements, Chicago, 1982, pp. 50-51, 54. Association of American Medical Colleges, Division of Educational Measurement and Research, Fall Enrollment Survey, Washington, D.C., Annual. American Dental Association, Division of Educational Measurements, Annual Report, Dental Education, Supplement 11, "Trend Analysis, 1981/82", and Supplements entitled "Minority Report", for years 1971/72, 1976/77, and 1981/82.

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Table VI-8. Participation Rates of Full-Time Employees in Institutions of Higher Education by Occupational Activity, Sex, Race, and Ethnicity, 1975 and 1979.

Occupational Activity and Year	Total No. of Employees (000)	Participation Rates (% of Total)											
		Male						Female					
		Total	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian	American Indian	Total	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian	American Indian
1979:													
Total	1,460	52.1	44.2	4.9	1.5	1.3	0.2	47.9	38.0	7.4	1.3	1.0	0.2
Executive/Admin./Managerial	106	72.4	66.2	4.3	1.1	0.6	0.2	27.6	24.0	2.8	0.4	0.3	0.1
Faculty	452	73.9	68.0	2.3	1.1	2.3	0.2	26.1	23.0	2.0	0.4	0.6	0.1
Professional Non-Faculty	210	48.3	42.4	2.7	1.0	2.0	0.2	51.7	43.9	4.8	0.8	2.0	0.2
Secretarial/Clerical	313	7.3	5.2	1.3	0.5	0.2	*	92.7	76.3	11.7	3.0	1.3	0.3
Technical/Paraprofessional	122	44.1	36.2	4.6	1.9	1.2	0.2	55.9	40.9	11.5	1.5	1.7	0.2
Skilled Crafts	53	94.6	80.8	9.0	3.6	0.6	0.5	5.4	4.0	1.1	0.2	0.1	*
Service/Maintenance	201	59.9	36.9	17.1	4.2	0.7	0.3	40.1	20.3	17.3	1.9	0.4	0.2
1975:													
Total	1,388	54.0	46.3	5.1	1.4	1.0	0.2	46.0	36.9	7.0	1.1	0.8	0.1
Executive/Admin./Managerial	102	76.9	70.6	4.6	0.9	0.5	0.2	23.1	20.3	2.3	0.3	0.2	0.1
Faculty	447	75.3	69.9	2.4	1.0	1.8	0.2	24.7	21.9	2.0	0.4	0.4	0.1
Professional Non-Faculty	166	51.3	45.3	3.1	1.1	1.6	0.2	48.7	41.4	4.6	0.8	1.8	0.1
Secretarial/Clerical	302	7.7	5.7	1.3	0.4	0.2	*	92.3	78.1	10.4	2.4	1.1	0.3
Technical/Paraprofessional	113	45.4	37.9	4.8	1.6	0.9	0.2	54.6	40.2	11.5	1.4	1.3	0.2
Skilled Crafts	51	95.2	83.4	8.1	2.8	0.5	0.5	4.8	3.4	1.3	0.1	*	*
Service/Maintenance	206	61.1	38.8	17.4	4.0	0.6	0.3	38.9	20.5	16.4	1.5	0.3	0.1

* Less than 0.05 percent.

Source: Unpublished tables obtained from the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, derived from Higher Education Staff Information Report (EEO-6), 1975 and 1979.

Table VI-9. Median Annual Salaries of Full-Time Faculty in Institutions of Higher Education by Length of Contract, Sex, Race, and Ethnicity, 1979.

Sex and Race/Ethnicity	9-10 Month Contracts		11-12 Month Contracts	
	Dollars	% of Male White	Dollars	% of Male White
Median Income				
Male				
White	21,621	100.0	26,893	100.0
Black	19,337	89.4	23,532	87.5
Hispanic	20,584	95.2	25,902	96.3
Asian	22,258	102.5	25,462	94.7
American Indian	20,734	95.9	22,368	83.2
Female				
White	17,437	80.6	19,236	71.5
Black	16,895	78.1	18,654	69.4
Hispanic	18,013	83.3	18,796	69.9
Asian	18,837	87.1	22,206	82.6
American Indian	17,326	80.1	19,000	70.9

Note: Total employment: 9-10 month contracts - 324,213
10-11 month contracts - 124,539

Source: Unpublished tables obtained from the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, derived from Higher Education Staff Information Report (EEO-6), 1979.

Table VI-10. Average Annual Salaries of Full-Time Faculty in Institutions of Higher Education by Length of Contract, Academic Rank, and Sex, 1980-81.

Rank	9-Month Contracts			12-Month Contracts			All Contracts	
	Average Salary (dollars)		%	Average Salary (dollars)		%	% of Total Employment	
	Male	Female	Female	Male	Female	Female	Male	Female
Total	24,499	20,101	82.0	29,559	22,247	75.3	100.0	100.0
Professors	31,082	27,959	90.0	38,269	33,255	86.9	32.5	10.3
Associate Professors	23,451	22,295	95.1	29,974	27,062	90.3	26.7	19.0
Assistant Professors	19,227	18,302	95.2	25,084	22,505	89.7	21.7	32.4
Instructors	15,545	14,854	95.6	19,117	17,924	93.8	5.0	15.1
Lecturers	18,281	16,168	88.4	23,856	19,194	80.5	1.1	2.8
No Academic Rank	23,170	20,843	90.0	21,164	19,025	90.0	13.0	20.4

Source: National Center for Education Statistics, Digest of Education Statistics, 1982, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1982, p. 107.

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1. Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, 42 U.S.C. § 2000d *et seq.*

2. Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, 20 U.S.C. § 1681 *et seq.*

3. See Marc Rosenblum, "Evolving EEO Decision Law and Applied IR Research," *Industrial Relations*, Vol. 21, No. 3, Fall 1982, pp. 340-351.

4. *The Washington Post*, March 11, 1983.

5. See National Center for Education Statistics, *Digest of Education Statistics, 1982*, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., pp. 92, 95, 106. (Referred to hereinafter as *Digest*.)

6. *Digest*, p. 94.

7. For detailed 1970 to 1980 statistics of full-time and part-time enrollment at various levels of education by sex, see National Center for Education Statistics, *Projections of Education Statistics to 1990-91*, Vol. 1, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1982, pp. 42ff.

8. M. L. Randour, G. L. Strasburg, and J. Lipman-Blumen, "Women in Higher Education: Trends in Enrollments and Degrees Earned," *Harvard Educational Review*, Vol. 52, No. 2, May 1982, p. 192. This is a thoroughly documented analysis of the statistics on the subject.

9. *Digest*, p. 126.

10. "Recruitment and Progress of Minority Medical School Entrants, 1970-72," *Journal of Medical Education*, July 1975.

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12. Association of American Medical Colleges, *Medical School Admission Requirements, 1982-83, United States and Canada*, Washington, D.C., 1982, pp. 46-61.

13. *The New York Times*, November 28, 1982.

14. *The New York Times*, July 21, 1981.

15. Based upon tabulations received from the EEOC.

16. *Ibid.*